

La Haye
THE
POLICY
AND
GOVERNMENT
OF THE
Venetians,

Both in
Civil and Military Affairs.

Written in French by the *Sieur de La Hay*, and Faithfully Englished.

L O N D O N,
Printed for *John Starkey*, at the
Miter in *Fleet-street*, near
Temple-Bar. 1671.

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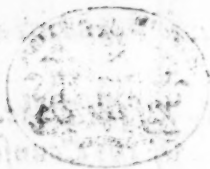
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The Table of Chapters.

The First Book.

Of their Civil Policy.

O*F the Foundation of Venice.* page 1

Chap. 1. *Of the Duke.* 9

Chap. 2. *Of the Counsel of Ten.* 20

Chap. 3. *Of the Sages Grands.* 30

Chap. 4. *Of their Procurators.* 34

Chap. 5. *Of their Podestats.* 38

Chap. 6. *Of their Camerlingues.* 44

Chap. 7. *Of their Ambassadors.* 46

Chap. 8. *Of the Nobility of this Commonwealth.* 54

Chap. 9. *Of their Ladies.* 67

Chap.

The Table of Chapters.

- Chap. 10. *Of their Citizens.* 75
Chap. 11. *Of the Nobles upon Terra-firma.* 80
Chap. 12. *A particular Discourse upon some of their Maximes.* 90

The Second Book.

Of their Military Policy.

- Chap. 1. *Of the Venetian Militia in general.* 97
Chap. 2. *Of their Generalissimo.* 100
Chap. 3. *Of the General of the Gulf.* 109
Chap. 4. *Of the General of their Gallies and their Governours.* 114
Chap. 5. *Of the General of the Gallions, and the Captains under his Command.* 119
Chap. 6. *Of the Sur-Comites of the Gallies.* 122

Chap

The Table of Chapters.

Chap. 7. <i>Of the General, or Governour of Candia.</i>	129
Chap. 8. <i>Of the General of Dalmatia.</i>	133
Chap. 9. <i>Of the Grand-Captains.</i>	137
Chap. 10. <i>Of their Forreign Generals.</i>	145
Chap. 11. <i>Of the Forreign General in Dalmatia.</i>	147
Chap. 12. <i>Of the General of the Forces drawn out of the Fleet upon occasion.</i>	15
Chap. 13. <i>Of the Governour of Candia.</i>	156
Chap. 14. <i>Of Reflexions in manner of a Recapitulation.</i>	158
Chap. 15. <i>Of their Armies in general.</i>	162
Chap. 16. <i>Of their Cavalry.</i>	166
Chap. 17. <i>Of their Light Horse.</i>	172
Chap. 18. <i>Of their Infantry.</i>	177
Chap. 19. <i>Of their general Rules and Maximes in War.</i>	188

THE

I
THE
POLICY
AND
GOVERNMENT
OF THE
VENETIAN,

Both in Civil and Military Affairs.

The Introduction.

Of the Foundation of Venice.



During the Wars
of Attila, that
Flagellum Dei,
(as he was usu-
ally called) there
being no refuge
or sanctuary a-
gainst the fury of his Arms, the

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demolishment of Towns, the desolation of Countreys, the smoaking and blazing of whole Provinces set on fire on all sides by the multitudes of his insulting *Barbarians*, being but a pastime and recreation to his tyranny, he left behind him no other monuments of his victories where-ever he came, but horror and despair.

Aquileia being a Town more than ordinarily considerable, had a greater share than ordinary of the calamities of the War, and the miserable remainder of the Inhabitants which had surviv'd them, choosing rather to expose themselves to the infidelity of the Sea, than once more to fall into his merciless hands, having imbark'd themselves upon the *Adriatick* in such lamentable Vessels as their condition could supply, they sail'd up and down for some time, but at length

length growing weary, and unsatisfied with their wandering, they landed upon certain little Islands, and laid the foundation of the most honourable Republick in the World. Their first accommodation was Hurts, or Cabbins which they built, and settled themselves in them when they had done, though not without great difficulty, for having consum'd the small stock of provisions they brought along with them, they found themselves under a necessity of taking up some trade, and profession, for their subsistence. Fishing and Navigation appearing to them the most proper, they embrac'd them with both arms, and trading into the neighbouring Countrey they gain'd a reputation by degrees suitable to their Traffick and Merchandize. Their Comportment from the first was with so much

amity and concord; that their manner of living alluring all such as had conversation with them, their little Islands were grown insensibly full of People submitting to their Government, who by little and little form'd themselves into a body that is now become considerable both for its grandure, and policy.

And forasmuch as those who outliv'd the destruction of their Countrey, were of a mixt condition, consisting both of Nobility and Commons; to cement their Estate, and make it more durable they agreed to have their Government mixt too, in which the Nobility were to be the chief, but with such coherence and dependence upon the Commons, they should do nothing without them. To take away all pretence of Emulation, it was concluded that

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Citizens and Gentlemen indifferently should be habited in the same fashion, which has been observed through so many Ages, to this very day; it was ordain'd also they should all of them wear a certain Bonnet of black Wool, (which they call *Barrett*) with a fringe of the same stuff about it, to put them in mind of their former condition, and rebate the edge of their pride, to which otherwise, young and capricious People (as they were) might be too prone, and propense.

But envy and virtue being alwayes concomitant, their Neighbours taking notice of their increase, began to be jealous, and by degrees, resolv'd to oppose them. However they thought it not fit abruptly to declare themselves their enemies, but by a neat and more cleanly piece of subtil-

ty they concluded to interrupt them privately in their commerce, and by that means to force them at last to begin the rupture themselves. If our new Planters, in the posture they were in at that time, were defective in any thing, it was in their conduct and discipline of War, which must be acknowledged was not so exact, as their rudiments for Peace. But these great persons having but one soul (as it were) and acting by one motion, in a short time established such *Laws* and *Maximes* for War, that they were own'd the principal Souldiers of that Age, and have been ever since esteem'd not only the ablest Politicians, but the most potent enemies in the World.

This being the Cradle or Mould in which this great body was formed, and continued till it grew stronger

stronger and adult, it has since not only ventur'd abroad amongst its Neighbours, but acquainted it self with the most remote corners of the Universe, for what Countrey is it which has not tasted of her commerce, or what part is there of the Levant Seas that is not afraid of her Arms, in spite of the protection of the *Turk*. It will not be amiss if I follow their Method in my description of their Civil, and Military Policy, the first being the basis and foundation of their grandure, and the last that which has advanc'd them to a miraculous height, and render'd them formidable all over the World. I shall begin with their Civil Affairs, and when I have made relation of what I observ'd (in my Travels) of that kind, I shall proceed to their Militia,

in which having serv'd also for
some time, I made my Ob-
servations according to my Ta-
lent,

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Ob-
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THE
POLICY
OF THE
VENETIAN,
Both Civil and Military.

The First Book.

Their Civil Policy.

CHAP. I.

Of the Duke.



THAT a body without a head how vigorous and robust soever it may be, is notwithstanding but an immoveable Trunck, and inanimate Mass, is so clear,

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and inexpugnable a truth, that being but alleadg'd in a Fable to the people of *Rome*, when in defiance of the tyranny of the Senate they were retired into the Mount *Aventini*, it brought the numerous and unquiet multitude down again to their obedience, and wrought upon them to submit to a domination they believ'd before insupportable. Accordingly the Republick of *Venice* understanding of what importance it would be, never thought themselves safe or compleat, till they had made themselves a Chief.

And this Election as I conceive was grounded upon three principal Reasons: The first was to frustrate the hopes of the ambitious, who would not so readily embrace any design against their Countrey, nor attempt the subversion of their liberties, seeing a Prince already

in possession of the place, (by the universal consent of the Commonwealth) which he might otherwise desire to usurp. The second, to cool and assuage that heat of dominion which reigns in the breast of most of the Gentry, by giving every man hopes of arriving one day at the Supremacy, it being most certain, there is not one amongst all the Nobles but has his expectation, and sometime or other may pretend to it. The third is to satisfy and fix the volatile spirit of the Commons, giving them an appearance of liberty in their Republick, and in their Dukes the shadow of a King.

I call it the shadow of a King, because in reality the Prince which they choose has more of the Name than Authority, and is so strictly limited and circumscrib'd, that in an hours time the Grand Council (which

(which they call the Councel of ten) can call him to account, form a Process against him, and cashier him. He is I must needs say accommodated well enough, and magnificently lodg'd, yet he is but as it were an illustrious Prisoner, seldom permitted to go out of his Pallace, and when he does, it is *incognito*, without any Ensigns of his place. That which is most strange, is, to oblige him to keep close and at home, if the people have taken any disgust against their *Doge* or Duke, they are allow'd to throw stones at him, and to commit what insolencies they please, if they meet him in the Streets, or in his *Gondolo*, except it be upon Festivals or publick Ceremonies, when he is accompanied by the Senate, and all the Ambassadors in the Town.

Being the most jealous people in
the

the World of their liberties, they could not find a better expedient than that, to keep their Prince low and dependant, and to cut off all wayes he might possibly take to make himself absolute. For not being allowed to do any thing of himself, it cannot be apprehended he can attempt or accomplish any thing of importance, besides the very Officers and Servants of his Household, are recommended and paid by the Commonwealth, and by consequence expecting nothing from him but the honour of his service, they are not so weak, to hazard the preferment they may rationally hope for, by being faithfull to those which place them in that Sphear.

Nevertheless in some things he has the reverence or resemblance of a Prince, he has admission into all publick Counsels, he has a
double

double voice in respect of his quality, he has precedence of all the Nobility, and the whole Senate, he creates all Officers, and supplies all Offices, he gives out Orders and makes most part (though not all) of the Ordinances, yet all this is with so much dependance, that he may be said to do nothing alone without the assistance of the said Number, some of which under pretence of attending him in point of honour, are as so many Spies watching over his actions perpetually. They choose their Dukes commonly the most ancient that they can, - as well to satisfy many in a short time, as believing the ardour of dominion to be dead and extinguish't, in persons of their age.

In the four years time which I spent in their service, I was a spectator of the Reigns and Funerals

als of *Contarini*, *Valiero*, and *Pezaro*.

The Ceremony in which the *Doge* appears in the greatest splendor and Majesty is at the Celebration of the *Ascension*, upon which day he marries the Sea with a Ring. At that time he makes a publick Feast; to which (in great State) he comes in very late, and makes but little stay, after which he marches in a most triumphant procession from the place where he lands, to the Church of *St. Mark*.

Take him in his *Gondolo*, (which is call'd *le Bucentaure*) and he is a Prince indeed, it is gilt all over to the very water, cover'd from the Poup to the Stroud with a large *Baldaquin* or Cloth of State, of Crimson Velvet embroider'd with gold and silver, with a rich Fringe of the same: he is set upon a kind
of

of a little Throne; the Senate ranged on both sides of him, bare: he is in a purple Vest with a Diadem upon his head, which is a Bonnet of an odd kind of fashion, encompassed with a *Band Royal* of white *a Pantique*; a habit which nevertheless has something August and Majestick in it. In this manner, at no great expence they suffer their Prince to reign for one day; yet 'tis remarkable also that even in the midst of this Grandure, they give him a gentle remembrance of his dependance, and the hazard he will run if he exceeds the bounds they have prescrib'd, and that is by conducting him betwixt two pillars, which is to be the fatal place of his chastisement, if he attempts any thing against their liberties.

Could any body with greater address restrain the imperious spirits

rits of those, who transported with the Grandure of their dignity, are not contented with the station and mediocrity in which the Rules of the Republick have plac'd them: Could any more gently and more agreeably lull that furious passion asleep, which not only disturbs, but subverts so many States:

But the excellency of their Politicks consists in the Election of their Dukes, it being a fundamental and inviolable Law amongst them, That no person how qualified soever in respect of his Extraction, can be admitted to that dignity if he be married, and if all their Chronicles be consulted from the very foundation of the Commonwealth to this day, there will not be above two or three to be found who have had Wives. For knowing very well the ambition of that Sex, and their insatiate appetite

tite to govern, they have excluded them by a Law which allows them no preheminence though their Husbands be Princes. Knowing likewise how violent the passion of that Countrey is towards them, and how inclinable even to the most servile respects, and considering that a man though otherwise very honest and devoted to the interest of his Countrey, may notwithstanding be too weak to defend himself against the importunities of his Wife, and it being contrary to the Laws both Humane and Divine to separate those who they have mutually joyn'd, by a singular dexterity they have avoided both the one inconvenience, and the other, and decreed no person capable of Election but such as are single, whereby it proceeds that neither their Sons, nor Relations, are the more considerable amongst them,

them, nor live in any greater splendor than before, not being allow'd the least priviledge to signifie their alliance to the Prince. Nay so far is it from that, the Duke is not permitted to converse privately with any of them unless some body be by, inso-much that as soon as he is chosen to that dignity, he bids adieu to his Children, his Friends, his Family, and all that is dear to him, none of them being suffer'd to enter into the Palace with him.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of the Counsel of Ten.

TO speak properly, the Counsel of Ten are the very soul of that Liberty which the *Venetians* have preserv'd immaculate for twelve hundred years. They are the Poles upon which that potent Machine moves, in which the perpetual and inexhaustible course of their Wisdom is to be admir'd. They are the Fountains from whence those Maximes have sprung, which rightly pursued, have hitherto succeeded, and advanc't their reputation to the condition it is in. In short, though the Senate of *Rome* exceed-
ed

ed them in number, they came short of that resurgent puissance and address which imbellishes this little body.

They are chosen above-board, without any favour or under-hand dealing, for the most part persons experienc't in publick affairs from their very youth, and in truth such as are elected into this Sovereign Counsel, are ordinarily well advanc't in years, it being but necessary a State of that importance should be entrusted to no hands, but such as have been accustomed to the greatest Negotiations. They are more Sovereign, than their Sovereign himself, for (as hath been said before) if the safety and advantage of the Commonwealth requires it, they can pull him down, and degrade him as they please.

They have secret and unconceivable

vable wayes of discovering what is done in the State, besides their private, they have publick informations which give them very considerable advice. They have one *Denonce* (as they call them) particularly for Oaths, which is a thing cannot be forbidden too strictly. They have others for pompous extravagancies in apparel, and it is no more than is necessary in so opulent a State, where the Youth and Nobility are as it were glutted with riches, and doubtless was there not a severe hand kept over them, we should see their Vests and their black Bonnets in a short time upon the ground, and their *Damoiselles* clattering in their gold and their silvers, with as much profusion and vanity as they do with us.

This Law against extravagance in their Cloathes, is so rigid and austere,

austere, that the Curtezans themselves, who in other things have great priviledges, are not exempted in this. And one of the greatest and [most pænal charges can be brought against them, is to accuse them of having their Gowns or their Cloathes too rich, and contrary to the prescription of that Edict. By this Policy it is, the mediocrity (which was the principal aim of their Ancestors) is maintain'd to this day. This it is which prevents the transportation of their Money into forreign parts, and hinders the luxury of that Sex which most commonly occasions it.

They have another *Denoncie* peculiar to the affairs of State, and this is the most dreadfull and dangerous of them all : for a person inform'd against by a Billett or Ticket thrown privately into the mouth

mouth of this *Denoncie*, is immediately apprehended, and clapt up close in a horrible Dungeon, where he lyes without any possibility of knowing the cause of his calamity, till after some time he be confronted at a little Window by the person which accus'd him, where he may apologize if he pleases, but being seldom believ'd, (such is their extraordinary jealousy of their freedom) they are frequently condemn'd to the Canal call'd *Orphano*, which is the place of Execution, where (let his condition be what it will) they fasten him to a board, and tying Cannon Bullets to his feet, and others to his head, they let him down betwixt two Boats into the Water.

That which I call *Denoncies* are certain Mouthes cut with a Chissel on the outside of the Walls of the
Palace,

Palace, which correspond to certain Pipes falling into Boxes of Stone within, of which the Senators of the Counsel of Ten keep the Keyes, and those that are in service do visit them every night, to see what fatal information is given that day.

It was the design of the grave Politicians which establish'd this Counsel, to advance their number to Ten, to prevent combination or partiality in their affairs, it being almost impossible in so many, but one or other will prefer the interest of the Commonwealth before his own, and because we cannot keep our selves from certain thwartings and accerssions to such people as we have alwayes in our eye, the Senate did very wisely comply with the course of our humane affections, and encrease them to that number, to divide and balance

C

lance their sentiments, if not by a generous inclination to their Country, at least by an insuperable instinct of Nature, which suffers us not to concur with the judgement of every one.

This Counsel or Magistrate (for that is the name they commonly call it by) is the same which is call'd in *France* the Privy Counsel of State, in which the Prince himself does sometimes preside. But there is this difference between them, in *France* all things are transacted according to the pleasure of the King, and if he cannot be present amongst them himself, he substitutes another, and he is call'd President of the Counsel, but the *Doge* is not always admitted to their Assemblies himself, and so far from deputing another, that they will not vouchsafe to communicate their

trans

transactions with him, but now and then. This Counsel is the Eye that watches perpetually for the good and safety of the State, the Eye which never sleeps, which divides their care and sollicitude for their Countrey with so much equality and proportion, that let one come to the Palace when he pleases, he shall alwayes find them ready to dispatch them, forasmuch as there is not an hour in the night but they succeed and relieve one another in order, that they may be alwayes ready to act, and oppose themselves against all the machinations of their enemies.

This is the Court of the highest Jurisdiction, which judges and determines absolutely without appeal in all things, especially belonging to the Publick. They have the Authority of chastizing the Nobility, which they can extend very

far if they think good. The Generals receive all their Orders from them, and when their Commissions are expir'd, they are oblig'd within six moneths next ensuing to attend that Court, and to answer to such Questions as shall be objected, in case they be accus'd of abusing their Commands. But whether there be any information against them or not, it is their duty of course to present themselves before them to give them an account of their Moneys, Magazines, Men, and whatever else was under their Conduct and Authority.

The great Power which they exercise makes them not only venerable, but dreadfull, and their Prince himself not daring to contradict their Decrees, they have gotten such an Empire upon the spirits of all people, that the very name of the Counsel of Ten will
make

make one tremble, though his offence be never so small. The Parliaments with us, and even our Counsels of State, have not that force and authority as they: in all our transactions, their motions are but slow, their power bounded, and restrain'd, which hinders their dispatch, and certainly could they exercise their zeal with the same privilege and freedom as these, there would not be so many mutinies and conspiracies in *France*, nor so many cruel Wars to destroy us.

CHAP. III.

Of the Sages Grands.

They are alwayes Elected out of the Nobility, nor can a meer Citizen ever hope to arrive at that honour. They are chosen for their merit and capacity, and their places are never sold. In some respects they are like our Secretaries of State. They are three principal persons which have a kind of super-intendancy over the rest, and manage the springs and motions of that great Machine the Commonwealth. They have each of them their peculiar Province which they administer distinctly, and therefore there is the *Sage de la Mer*,
the

the *Sage de la Terre-ferme*, and the *Sage de l'Ecriture*.

The *Sage de la Mer* disposes of all Orders which are given, relating any wayes to Maritime affairs, there being nothing happens in that nature which passes not thorough his hands. He has the care and provision of all Arms, Victuals, and Ammunitions, and gives out all Commissions requisite thereunto. He gives Patents and Commissions to all the Commanders and Officers in their Galleys and Gallions. He Signs all necessary Orders, and conveys them to them, and in short has full cognizance and authority over all their Navigation.

The *Sage de la terre-ferme* has the same inspection upon the Continent, takes an accompt of all Chamberlains, and Treasures of the Armies. It is his office to pay

the Souldiers, to give all Orders to the Militia in Garrison in all places under his dominion, and in a word it is he is to be apply'd unto, in any thing relating to affairs upon land.

The *Sage de l'Ecriture* has the oversight of the Records and Registers of the Counsel, Signs all Orders which pass there, sees the Letters Patents and Commissions seal'd which are given to the Magistrates sent abroad to govern and command the Provinces, and nothing is receiv'd from the Senate, either recompence, donative, or office, but must pass through his hands. Each of these Grandees are allow'd their Secretaries and Clarks under them for their assistance, and they are Citizens.

The mark or ensign of their degree is a long purple Robe with large Sleeves.

They

They have separated these Offices, and made them three, though in most Kingdoms they are commonly executed by one person, but their design was to enfeeble and debilitate all dignities, which in one mans hand might be too puissant and dangerous. They have each of them a Seal belonging particularly to their Office, with which they seal their several dispatches, but all of them have the same impression.

CHAP. IV.

Of their Procurators.

THe Procurators in this Republick may be called Princes without a Solecism, and they are of two sorts : One is chosen alwayes by the Senate, and confer'd as a reward of some eminent piece of service, or else as an encouragement of virtue and honesty. The other buy their Principalities, and for the most part very dear, it being one of the readiest wayes the Commonwealth takes to raise money in their greatest and most important necessities.

They have their places in all Counsels, and *Pregadis*, but they have but a single voice no more than

than the privatest Gentleman, and can do no more than any of the rest; yet they have their perquisites and priviledges, which makes them many times very considerable, and enables them to oblige or gratifie any one for whom they have a kindness.

All Nations which have any commerce with the *Venetian*, are very sollicitous to acquire one of these Procurators for their Patrons. The Towns upon the *terra-ferma*, put themselves under their protections, and even the Nobility themselves think it no small corroboration to have an alliance with one of these Princes; and this is that which gives the greatest lustre to that Office.

In the Senate they have their places above the rest, have the preheminance in all debates, and are alwayes the first in giving their
judge.

judgements. Yet for all these prerogatives, their train is no greater than theirs, nor are they suffer'd to walk the Streets in greater Equipage, and the design is to keep that happy mediocrity inviolate, which was establish'd at the Commencement, and has been continued so fortunately ever since. Nevertheless in their Houses they appear like themselves, living with the greatest affluence and grandure imaginable. Strangers are not admitted to speak with them till they have formally demanded audience first; and when it is granted them, they are conducted by a long train of Officers of his Chamber to the place where they are to be receiv'd. Most of them are very proud and morose, but some of them civil and fine Gentlemen: In the time whilst I was in their service, one of these Princes
named

named *Morosini* managed his dignity so nobly, he gain'd the affections of all people, and put them into an equal admiration of the sweetness of his behaviour, the nobleness of his extraction, and the charms with which he attracted the hearts of all such as had occasion to approach him; a virtue (to speak truth) with which the *Venetian* Nobility have but little acquaintance.

They are distinguish't from the rest by a Magistrale Robe, of the same colour with the Robe of the *Sages Grands*.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Of their Podestats.

THE Dignities of the *Podestats* are of no long duration, continuing not above two or three years in the Towns to which they are sent for the distribution of justice. Their Office is properly to hear and dispatch all Suits or Controversies arising either in the Towns where they preside, or the Territories depending.

From the day of their departure from *Venice*, and their entrance upon the Magistracy, they lay by the equality in which they lived before, and comport themselves as Sovereigns. They have their Gen-

Gentlemen, their Stewards, their Officers of their Chambers, their Confessors, their Pages, their Footmen, and their Guard, which consists commonly of thirty or forty persons, with a peculiar sort of Bonnetts upon their heads, their Swords by their sides, and their Snap-hanches in their hands after the manner of the *Bressians*, which is a kind of Arquebuss, somewhat larger than our Musquetons. The Guards are alwayes drawn up, and in their Arms, at the Gate of the Court where the *Podestats* hold their Affizes, and attend him constantly whenever he goes abroad.

Though the Senate allow their *Podestats* these priviledges, yet they will not suffer them in other things to behave themselves like Princes, lest the elation of their heart might make them forget their
station

station and dependance. Their Jurisdiction seldom extending above four or five leagues, they cannot have *interest* or power enough to attempt any innovation; yet what authority they have given them, is to imprint a character of respect and obedience in the people under their several jurisdictions, that the Majesty of these Presidents may as a *Copy* represent the original Grandure of that august body, of which these are as it were, the most inconsiderable members.

Their Robes and their habits are red, their Vest is of scarlet with large Sleeves, they are daily at Mass in their Chappels, with the usual Ceremonies, and those of their Counsel accompanying them. Their Counsels consist generally of Gentlemen of the *Terra-ferma*, who seem to be assistant and joyn'd
to

to these *Podestats*, in the discussion of all occurrences which present themselves, but indeed it is but a complement and shadow of liberty which they give them, for in affairs of greatest importance they never are called; and if by accident they be there, and their judgement contrary to the *Podestats*, they stop their mouthes, by shewing them a Decree of the Senate, confirm'd by the opinion of the present Magistrate.

They have authority over all Prisoners, and judge in all Cases of life and death, in the highest *resort*. They have the care of all Hospitals, High-ways, and Bridges. During the time of their Commission, they lay Tolls, and set prices upon all things brought into the Markets, as necessary for the life of man. The Innes and victualling Houses are oblig'd every night to
bring

bring to them the names of all the Guests and Lodgers in their respective Houses, by which means they understand not only the numbers, but the qualities of all persons which come into their Towns. If they have any apprehension of the Plague, they choose another Officer under them which is call'd the *Magistrate of Health*, who suffers no man to enter whatever he be without a Ticket or attestation signed by their Secretaries. No Nobleman (I mean of the *Terraferma*) is allow'd to be absent, but by their permission; and so strict is their eye over all numerous Assemblies, there is seldom any sufficient to give them an alarm. They live after the manner of the Gentlemen of that Countrey, yet though they converse with them freely, and afford them familiar access, it is alwayes with such circumstances.

cumstances, as make them know them to be their Masters.

To insinuate however into the affection of the Gentry, and oblige them in some measure, they vouchsafe them some little inconsiderable employment, where they have the entire management of nothing, and yet they call this, (as I have heard some of them my self) sharing their authority with them, and desiring earnestly their assistance, when (in truth) they are but their servants, and led about by the Noses, as they are pleas'd to direct.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Of their Camerlingues.

I Might adde in this place an Officer they call the *Captain Grand*, but his imployment being Military, I shall reserve him till I speak of their Militia; and pass to their *Camerlingues*, or Receivers, which for the most part are *Venetian* Gentlemen of small Estates, who are put into those Offices on purpose to recruit themselves, which they seldom neglect, by the several Receipts and payments which they make; and the Senate has that kindness for them, they never enquire too strictly into their behaviour. They are habit-
ed

ed in scarlet like the *Podestat*, receive their Orders both from the *Podestat*, and *Grand-Captain*, and discharge their Bills. When they hold a fair correspondence with these two Magistrates, they make up their Markets the better, and they are continued in this little (but advantageous) Office, till such time as they are suppos'd to have got enough, to support their quality in the Commonwealth.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Of their Ambassadors.

THe principal aim of their Policy is to obtain and preserve an amity with all the Princes of *Europe* by all possible means, of which they are so great lovers, they have many times purchas'd it at a dear rate, of the cruellest of their enemies. One of the most powerfull and dexterous wayes of maintaining this union with forreign Kingdoms, is by this ancient mode of Ambassadors, which they send to all Courts in Christendom with great equipage and splendor. They choose them constantly out of the *Patrician* race, that is to say
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of the ancient Senators, such as were the first of their State, and such if possible as have merit and abilities added to the Nobility of their blood.

They are permitted to habit themselves according to the fashion of the Countrey to which they are designed, and to live after another manner than they do at *Venice*, which scarce one of the other Magistrates dare venture to do.

In these kind of Negotiations they are so subtil and accute, they can penetrate the most secret Cabinets of Kings, and by a Key of gold which is forg'd in the Senate, open and shut the most obscure and intricate Springs in any soveraign Counsel. They spare no charges upon such an occasion, especially where they have any suspicion.

These Ambassadors y seem
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Plenipotentiaries, and to have a full power and authority, but they are really circumscrib'd. They dare not come to a definitive Conclusion upon any affair whatever, till they have given notice of their progress at *Venice*, and receiv'd the directions of the Senate, which is punctually to be observ'd. They have not the liberty to open and peruse any Packets or dispatches alone: to prevent that, they appoint them certain Citizens of *Venice*, selected out of the most judicious and experienc't persons of the City, who as Secretaries are alwayes to be present at the opening and reading of their Letters.

And this is no small check to the Nobility, for however glorious they may appear in their station, we see them liable to be curb'd, and that by one single Citizen. With such admirable prudence do these

these great Statesmen confine all their Grandees to their particular circuits and bounds, that 'tis impossible for them to arrogate any absolute jurisdiction to themselves.

The reports which these Secretaries make, either by their Letters or word of mouth, are of so great credit with the Senate, that they are not only sufficient to destroy a man, but to create a jealousy, and interrupt that harmony and consort which might otherwise be found amongst persons of the same condition. The Republick names a Nobleman expressly, to whom it gives the appearance of being chief of the Embassie, but when that is done, he is sure to have a Citizen clap't at his Elbow, to peep into the most secret of his actions. It is an incredible thing to see with what generosity these

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illustri-

illustrious persons the next day after they are return'd from their Embassies, lay aside all the Grandure and Glory which they had taken upon them for the honour of their Countrey, and march up and down the Streets as it were *incognito*, with the same modesty as an ordinary Citizen. This condescension of theirs gains strangely upon the affections of their Subjects and disposes them to obedience without violence or coercion, for observing how quietly their Governours resign, they cannot think much to conform to the Government themselves.

As to the Ambassadors which are sent to *Venice*, they are received with great honours. The Senators in their Robes of scarlet go out in their *Gondoloes* to meet them, in some of the Isles about the Town and having made their Compliments

ments, they conduct them to the City with a great train of Boats attending, every Senator taking a Gentleman of the Ambassadors Equipage into his Gondolo with him.

But after this day they have no liberty to see or converse together more, nor can the Ambassador himself speak or negotiate with any of them upon any pretence whatsoever. All things afterwards are transacted in full Senate, the Duke and Counsel being present, where no immediate Answer is ever given to any Proposition, but the Ambassadors withdrawing, the business is debated, and then put to the Vote what shall be resolved.

The Laws are so jealous, and so severe in matters of Intelligence or Correspondence, that if it be known a noble Venetian has had

conference, not only with an Ambassador, but the least person in his Retinue, he runs no less hazard than of his life, insomuch that they run as fast and with as much horror from any of them, as from a Basilisk. About twenty six years since, one of the Family of the *Contarini*, and Nephew to the *Doge* that was then, was strangled in Prison for having been seen in a *Gondaloe* with a Secretary of *Spain*. A Friend of mine, one *Labia* a noble *Venetian*, who had spent much of his time in *France*, when *Monsieur du Plessis Besancon* took his leave of the Senate, admiring the beauty and accomplishment of the young *Chevalier* his Son, he could not contain himself from accosting him, and paying his respects, but suspecting that one of the Counsel of Ten (who are alwayes about the Ambassadors) had

had observ'd him, he was glad of his own accord to throw himself at the feet of those terrible Judges, to acknowledge his fault, and implore their pardon, which at length though with severe reprehension he obtain'd, because he had prevented their Informers by accusing himself.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Nobility of this
Commonwealth.

THE Nobility are divided into two ranks, the Noble *Venetians*, and the Nobles upon the *Terra firma*. The first are Princes, the other Subjects ; but of the Noble *Venetians* first.

The continual Wars which for so many years they have maintain'd against the *Turks*, has been the destruction of many of their Nobility, and brought them into an extreme necessity of money, to recruit both in one kind and the other, they found themselves oblig'd to incorporate forreign Families

lies into the Mass of their Nobility, which is the reason that at present they are of two sorts, the first of the Primitive Race, the other advanced for their money, nevertheless these last enjoy the same Honours, Priviledges and Prerogatives, are of the *Pregadis* and Counsels as well as the rest, but in the publick Offices and Commands, the first are commonly preferr'd, and 'tis but seldom any of the latter arrive at that dignity.

In the year 1656 the Commonwealth had 3000 noble *Venetians*, both old and new, and without doubt since that time their number is encreas'd, their late troubles having put them upon extraordinary expences, which are not any way so naturally supply'd, as by ennobling of strangers.

Out of this great body it is they

choose their *Doge*, their Counsel of Ten, their Senators, their Ambassadors, their *Sages Grands*, their *Podestats*, their Captains-General, their *Provediteurs-General*, their Governours, their Grand-Captains, their Vice-Admirals of their Galleys, the heads of their Inquisition, (which is but the shadow of a Court in *Venice*) because let the Inquisitors be as zealous as they will, they can neither act nor undertake any thing, without the permission of certain Senators appointed to assist, who commonly (like the rest of the Nation) being not over-scrupulous or severe in such matters, do choak and correct the ardour which your more refin'd Catholicks are prone to. In short, all the chief Offices depending upon the Senate, (whether Military or Civil) are entrusted only with the noble

Vene.

Venetians, the rest of the Citizens, and the noblest upon the Continent, never so much as hoping for them in their turns.

Till they be five and twenty years old, the noble *Venetians* are not admitted into the Counsel, yet this severity is not so general, but some few which are of their friends are receiv'd at twenty. Here it is they model and form their young plants for the government of the State; here it is they are instructed in their most refin'd policies, and prepared for publick affairs. And though it may seem strange that the heat of youth should accord with the coldness and asperity of old age, yet there has been alwayes observ'd so great an union and concurrence resulting from their Counsels, that it must be acknowledg'd the flame of the young Gentlemen has hitherto had

no other effect but to correct and qualifie the frigidity of the more ancient, and on the other side the Ice and gravity of the seniors have serv'd only to cool and temper the juvenile ebullitions of their juniors.

The *Pregadis* (which are the Counsels to which they are usually called, as is imply'd by the name, for *Pregadi* in the *Venetian* language is as much as invited or convok'd) have their first meeting (all in a body) in the *Place of St. Mark*, where every one driving on his own designs either for himself or such of his friends as are ambitious of authority, they walk up and down promiscuously, solliciting, and making their Cabals.

No body is suffer'd at that time to come near the place where they are walking, and if by accident or presumption any stranger intrudes him-

himself, he is repuls'd, and runs a great hazard of some publick affront. The while they are there, the place is counted as sacred, and call'd by the name of *Pregadi*, it runs along all the front of the Palace, and takes up a full half of the Market-place in breadth. One custome they have, I know not whether more subtil or pleasant: When any one who has stood for any dignity, comes out of the Counsel, whether his ambition be prosperous or not, all people salute him with their Compliments, congratulate his advancement, and by a peculiar Oath which they have on purpose, swear they have done their utmost to serve him, by which means the poor rejected person, besides the affront he receiv'd being defeated of his hopes, finds himself under a necessity of receiving a civility from him, who perhaps

haps was the principal destruction of his designs, for he can never be assured, who were either his friends or his foes, because the Elections being made by Tickets put into a Bason without any superscription, the whole conduct remains so confus'd and obscure, it would be beyond the skill of an *Oedipus* to resolve him.

This invention of Tickets is the most safe way was ever found out for giving their judgements freely, for who is it will deny, but when one is to give his opinion in a publick Assembly, he is not liable to certain insuperable motions, which oblige him many times to speak against his judgement, being to give his Vote against some great person which he is afraid to displease, or against a Friend which he is unwilling to destroy, against a man of parts which perchance he

has.

has occasion to use, or against a man of power that another time may do as much for him. But this occult way of Election defends them against those dangers, and authoriseth them to be honest, without apprehension of any body.

If there be several Children in a Family, the elder seldom marry, but give a good proportion of their patrimony to the younger: it is reported that the youngest marryes for them all; but I cannot think them extravagant to that point. This I know, they are in no great slavery to their consciences, they manage their appetites with a loose rein, and indulge themselves in their pleasures as much as any people in the world, yet they have a jealous and suspicious humour, (which is born and dyes with them) that perswades me the
good

good man of the house would not digest that kind of community. In my judgement it proceeds rather from a Maxime of State if one only marryes, for the whole Estate devolving by degrees upon him, he has wherewithall not only to support his Family, but to maintain it in its opulence and splendor, which they are principally solicitous of, not enduring with any patience to see any exceed them, and by this means (I conceive) it is they preserve their Houses in their ancient authority and lusture.

Under their black Vests they are habited in the *French* fashion, very handsome, the young Nobility having no fancy for the long Robes which they are oblig'd to wear, would willingly change them also, but in that they are oblig'd to accommodate, and preserve the mode of their Countrey, which in
all

all great Towns, and in their Houses of pleasure, they retain to their dying day. But out of the Towns, they are dress'd *à la Cavaliere*, either when they are in their Coaches, or on Horseback, and accompani'd by a rabble of Hectors they call *Bravi*, many times only in ostentation, but too often for a worse end, for being very proud and vindicative, they are seldom without some mischief or other in their designs. And for that in this Countrey courage does not lye in the gallantry or generousness of a mans behaviour, but in ridding himself of his enemy by what wayes he can. That they may be in no danger of being surprized themselves, but rather have that advantage upon others, they are attended when they are in the Countrey with these *Mirmidons*, but in the City they leave them in
gar-

garrison, sometimes in their Houses, but never appear with them in the Streets.

They never discourage their youth in their debauches, they seem rather to excite them by the permission the *Curtezans* have to keep publick Houses without being disturb'd, though to do them right it is in a Quarter by themselves. They are not ignorant in the Senate, that a voluptuous person thinks of nothing but his pleasures, and he which is inveigled by the artifice of a *Curtezan*, pursues no bodies destruction but his own, and aims no further than to make himself acceptable to her. By this means these grave Senators suffer the inextinguishable flames of their youth, to evaporate betwixt the arms of these Idols, and with this sweet poison correct the boiling of those spirits, which uncajol'd

jol'd might endanger, at least attempt the subversion of the State. But since the famous *Tiepolo's* dayes, there has not been known any form'd Conspiracy sufficient to give that Republick any apprehension; what have happen'd, have been immediately suppress'd, and by their vigilance render'd abortive.

They are generally much given to play, and very neat and subtil at all Games. They have certain places on purpose which they call *Redotti*, where they meet, and dispose of several hours without speaking a word. Their success is never known by their behaviour, for they win and lose, receive and part with their money with the same temper and indifference. For the most part the place of their play is at a Senators House, where they have alwayes one of their Judges

Judges in their eye. They are so far from using any corporal Exercise, that they despise it; and I am of opinion they are brought up purposely in that laziness, lest otherwise they should awake their Lethargick spirits, which by this means lye buried in the contemplation and enjoyment of their pleasures.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Of their Ladies.

THE Ladies making no inconsiderable part of the Nobles in this Countrey, I suppose it will be allow'd me to make a small digression in their behalf, and to speak a word or two of their *Customes en passant*.

They are naturally very proud, and of opinion there is no Nobility like themselves in the whole world. They never match beneath themselves, and will sooner throw themselves into a Nunnery, (where they have all sort of liberty) than entertain the least motion of an unequal Marriage. In
their

their Houses they are very magnificent and rich, their Habits of Cloth of gold, or other costly Stuff, made up *à la Française*. When they appear abroad they are dress'd very neatly, their Breasts bare, and commonly plump and white, their Heads are usually dress'd after our mode, and with as much curiosity as in *France*. When Madam *Besanson* was at *Venice* they most industriously imitated her in all the fashions she brought with her out of *France*.

Your languishing beauties being in no great request among them, they prefer vivacity to sweetness, and a brisk aiery brown is more acceptable there than a sleepy and dying aspect, though the fairest imaginable. They take much delight to have their Necks and Faces something more sanguine than ordinary;

dinary, which to strangers is not so gratefull. They are mightily reserv'd at home, but if you will dispence with them there, they will invent wayes enough to satisfie your curiosity any where else. They have certain affected Feasts every Week, upon which under pretence of publick prayer, or particular devotion to some Saint or other, they take occasion to be constantly at Church, where behind the Pillars you may observe the young Gentlemen lying at catch for their *Ocellades* and Glances, which they receive and retort with a slyness and dexterity suitable to the cunning of that Nation.

They have most of them their Women absurdly and fantastically clad, which attend and support them, by whose gracious assistance a man may be sometimes admitted

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to converse with them, when they enjoy themselves most freely, or have liberty to walk. From the *Epiphany* to the first Week in *Lent* they keep a continued *Carnaval*, during which time they have the freedom to go in their disguises to the *Place of St. Mark*, to be present at all Balls, Playes or Assemblies, where there is merriment or dancing. At their *Maskes* they have a particular care of refusing their hand to no body, lest it should prove some Gentleman in *Maskerade*, which amongst them would be an inexpressible affront. At these meetings they place themselves all in a rowe, without speaking a word, and when they are taken out to dance, one must have a special care he does it not with his Glove off; if he does, he not only runs a hazard of an affront, but to be pistold or stabbed. Their Dance

is nothing but a grave and stately motion from one room to another, till at last they return to the place from whence they were taken. They have no want of Musick, but it is so disposed into several apartments, that one is sensible but of one single Melody. In one Chamber they have their Theorboes, in another their Lutes, in a third their Viols, in a fourth their Violins, and so in every Chamber one comes, he is presented with a new sort.

Their Play is a perpetual *Tacet*. You shall see fifty or threescore Ladies about a long Table, shuffling and managing the Cards with as much silence as they were Statues, and losing their money with as little concernment, as their Husbands. I was many times at these meetings on purpose to have learn'd the game, but they play'd
so

so quick, and talk'd so little, 'twas impossible I should do it.

Besides these Feasts, they have the same liberty at the Marriage of any of their relations, upon certain dayes which they call *Procuratici*, and upon all publick solemnities for any victory obtain'd. When they are at home, their entertainment commonly is making their *Punti in aria*, which are the *Points de Venice* so much valu'd in France.

Their Coaches are their *Gondoloes*, which are a sort of Boats so easie and swift, it is scarce possible to present them to your imagination. All the Summer long their recreation is upon the *Canal* above the *Pontreale*, and they call this diversion taking the Air. Their *Gondoloes* are so swift, though the Sea in the *Canal* be very gentle and calm, yet by the force of the Rowers, and the agitation of the Vessel,

fel, it is swell'd and incens'd in that manner, it seems with its waves and foam to threaten all people that had the audacity to provoke it. But that which is most admirable is the dexterity of their Watermen, who amongst so great a multitude and confusion of Boats, so many turnings and windings as they make, are never known to fall foul upon one another, but follow so exactly the Barque where the Lady of their affections is carried, that without the least suspicion or disorder by all the crosses they make, they will land you at the place where your Mistress appoints.

And Where I might make some reflexion upon the jealousy of this Nation, and admire how upon certain occasions

sions they can master a passion which amongst them is predominant. But they understand the complexion of that Sex exactly, and that their desire is more ardent of what is forbidden, for which reason they remit something of the *Italian* severity, and allow them a certain image of liberty, lest by their strictness they should kindle such a fire in their veins, as should make their own Houses too hot for them.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Of their Citizens.

BEFORE I come to speak of the Estate upon the Continent, I think it not improper to place the Citizens next to the Nobility, because they pretend to be of the same number, and accordingly call themselves Noble Citizens. Unless a man be very conversant amongst them, and takes more than ordinary notice, it is no easie matter to distinguish them from the Gentry, they having the same habits, and neither of them more than the other; but if one associates with them, and observes strictly the difference of their geni-

us and spirit, 'tis not difficult to discern them, for the Citizens carry not their heads so high, nor their forehead so open, their countenance is not so free, they have more humility, and their salutations are with more submission.

They are generally men of parts, profound in their judgements, and have great intelligence in forreign Countreys. They are rich and frugal, and exercise no particular Trade, only they are Partners with such as traffick in Gross, their principal commerce is with the *Jewes*, who have a Quarter in the City assigned particularly to themselves. To speak properly they are the chief of the Commons, and the Nobility complies with them so far as to permit them to wear the same habits for three reasons:

The

The first is, that by honouring them with the same Vesture the Senators themselves wear, they may the better prevail with them to swallow their Authority, and cajole the Commons with an opinion that in their Citizens they do participate likewise with the Nobles in the management of affairs, whereas indeed there is nothing common amongst them but their Cloathes.

A second is, to conceal the number of their Gentry from the observation of strangers, that by supposing them more numerous than they are, they might be deterred from all plots and machinations against them.

The last, and (if I be not mistaken) the most prevalent is, that by confounding themselves in that manner with the commoner sort, they might not remain so open and

ease a mark to such as should have designs against them, for he which attempts them upon presumption of their habits, may find himself mistaken, and involve himself in the ruine of a Citizen as soon as a Senator, so that their destruction by this means being not so facile as otherwise, these Citizens may be said to be the Bucklers of the Nobles, by which they are cover'd and protected.

They are never imploy'd in any great Office, and have the management of nothing in the State, but under some of the Gentlemen of *Venice*. The highest of their preferment is to be Secretaries to the Generals, Ambassadors, and Proveditors-General. They are admitted to the Bar, and may go as Voluntiers in any of the Ships belonging to the Common-

monwealth ; but that where-
with they are most pleas'd,
and which perswades them
they have no small share in
the Government , is , that
they are nominated to their
places by the Counsel, and
indeed they are seldome im-
ploy'd about any person but
as a spy upon his actions.

CHAP. XI.

*Of the Nobles upon the
Terra-firma.*

ONE of the most admirable things to all strangers, is the submission (not to say abjectness and baseness) of these Nobles towards the Nobility of the *Venetians*, which extends to so poor and servile a veneration, they will not put on their Hats before any of them, but by their reiterated commands. Notwithstanding in the Countrey they retain some little esteem, but in the City they are no more regarded than the most inconsiderable Mechanicks.

They are kept in so constant and
so

so severe a servitude, they are never admitted to any considerable dignity in the Commonwealth. They are never call'd to any of the Counsels of State, of whose transactions they are usually as ignorant as the meanest Fisherman of *Moran*. They are brought up in this ignorance, and kept at this distance from affairs, to keep them under, and prevent any competition with them who are to be their Masters; for being naturally witty, quick, desirous of novelties, and no more faithfull than consists with their convenience, should they give an inch, they would take an ell, and by the admission of one foot, work in their whole body, till at last they would discover, that notwithstanding their masque and appearance of liberty, they were really and in effect no better than slaves. And to speak truth, this

Republick have so great a diffidence and suspicion of these people, there is no stone left unturn'd that may keep them from a sence of their condition, or put them out of any capacity of relieving themselves.

Nevertheless that they might not provoke them to despair, the superiour Magistrates, sent over by the Senate to govern them, call them to them at their arrival, entrust them (in appearance) with their affairs, give them the title of **Counsellors**, and perhaps the arbitration in some trifling difference.

The Orders which they receive from the Senate, they communicate with them first, and they are oblig'd blindly to pursue them; they give them little **Offices** besides, but they are not so honourable as servile: with which shadows
and

and delusions the poor Gentlemen march off with an *Adio à Vosignoria*, as heartily as if they had advanc'd them to the highest dignity in their Dominions.

They are generally implacable, and hold this as an irrefragable Maxime, never *Fidarsi al nemico reconciliato*; To trust a reconciled Enemy. They are so rooted and habituated to revenge, that in all the Towns belonging to this State, there is scarce any thing to be seen but perpetual Civil Wars. The *Bressians* and the Inhabitants of *Vincenza* are so furious, and murders and assassinations so familiar amongst them, it would scarce bring a Citizen out of his Shop, to see a man kill'd before his face, and they are so little concern'd at the execution of any man, that if they hear a Gun go off in the Street, the most pious person amongst them will pull off

off his Hat, and say a short Prayer for the murderers escape. And as if this were not enough, the Parents adde this way of revenge to the education of their Children, shewing them constantly every night and morning the bloody Shirts in which their Predecessors were slain, inflaming their young veins with desire of revenge, which encreasing with their age, never abates, but with the utter ruine and destruction of their enemy.

And yet this liberty would not be altogether unpardonable, if they took but honourable wayes to atchieve their revenge: I call them honourable wayes, because though there be Princes which have forbid Duels, yet upon any complaint they cannot conceal the difference they make betwixt a man that challenges, and one that refuses. But their wayes are so barbarous and base,

base, they are not to be recited but with horror. They entertain Garrisons of these *Bravoes* in their Houses, who being arm'd exactly, are many times the perfidious instruments of their death, which they ought in gratitude to have defended; and in truth there is no people that I know more unhappy than these Nobles; the most severe Monk of them all not enduring half so much pain with their Hair and their Sackcloth, as these do with their Coats of Mail and their Corsets, which for greater secrecy they wear commonly next their skin also. In short, their lives are so disturb'd and inquiet, by their passionate appetite of revenge on the one side, and their immoderate apprehension of danger on the other, that the nearest of their relations have many times fallen under their hands, in the fantastical alarms

harms they have created to themselves.

Their Wives (how vertuous and discreet soever they be) they use like the greatest Criminals imaginable. They keep them lock'd up close in their Chambers, which are fortified at all points, and not to be entred but thorow an iron Grate. They do not allow them the conversation of mankind, nor suffer them to be attended, but by their own Sex; and if they do not govern themselves with the highest severity, they run no less hazard than of their lives. For in this case they are so jealous, they will revenge the sin of the Father upon his Children, and exterminate a whole Family for the offence of a single man: and yet for all this their Wives are Women, and *Human* too.

This (according to my best observation)

ser-

servation) is the life of the Nobles upon the *Terra-firma*. Some will tell me perhaps they cannot but admire, so prudent and potent a body as the Senate should permit such abominable disorders. But in this lyes the subtilty and neatness of their policy; for if they do not promote them on purpose, they at least connive at their outrages, to the end that being imploy'd in mining and countermining at home, they may be taken off from any publick contrivances, to the prejudice of the State. They know very well where there is a radicated and inveterate quarrel, there can never be an entire and ingenuous union, which of all things in the world this State is most apprehensive of, as the most probable way for its ruine and subversion. And indeed considering how numerous and (in that respect)

spect) considerable they are, should they be unanimous, and live in any correspondence, it were no hard matter for them to be too hard for their Masters, and to tumble them down headlong, that do now trample upon their necks. It is an ordinary saying at *Venice*, that this great body being full of melancholly and corrupt humours, nothing is more convenient for it than Phlebotomy, and that having that faculty of opening their veins for one another, they save them the labour of applying any other remedies. But besides the aforesaid advantages, which the *Venetian* draws from these animosities, there is another of which upon occasion they make considerable use, and that is by declaring any of these Gentlemen of the *Terra-firma* Rebels, if after they have satisfied their fury, and as it were glutted them-

themselves with the blood of their adversaries, they begin to appear formidable in the Countrey, by the multitude of their *Bravoes*, or the quantity of their crimes. In such case the Senate understands well enough that the perpetration of such and so numerous villanies, must of necessity create them enemies *ad infinitum*, and therefore without more circumstance they banish this terrible offender, degrade him from his honours, deprive him of his Estate, set a price upon his head, and having craved the assistance of all the neighbouring Countreys towards the execution of justice, and engaged their concurrence in so equitable a Cause, they constrain the poor Tyrant to an unhappy dilemma, of either living obscurely in some Cave for the future, or else in the highest despair to betake himself to
the

the Field: from whence it comes there are many times so great parties of *Banditi* to be seen in their Territories. An incomparable Maxime to give just so much rein to the vicious, as shall make them insolent and odious, that they may afterwards ruine them with universal approbation, and besides possess the people with a most sacred opinion of their justice, and secure their Provinces against the Grandees of the Continent.

CHAP. XII.

A particular Discourse upon some of their Maximes.

THAT which the World looks upon as their Treasure, is (really) no such thing. Their wealth

wealth is suppos'd to consist in great heaps of money, cramm'd up in some secret and secure place, from whence upon occasion they draw forth such immense summes of gold and silver as they judge necessary for the conservation of their State. Their chiefest riches in their greatest extremities, lyes in the affections of their Nobility and Citizens, there it is they meet with their inexhaustible springs, it is they whose love to their Country, and apprehension of foreign dominion, makes them post-pone all Considerations of particular interest, and draw their swords as well as purses in defence of their State. After the death of the valiant *Marcello*, the loss of *Tenedos*, and the fatal alloy to their victory in the death of *Mocenigo*, though the Republick was almost dazeled with those blows, and as it were

were fainting with the loss of such laudable blood, yet they disdain'd to supply themselves any where but at home, and the generous *Pesaro* (since chosen *Doge*) was the first who in that general Consternation rais'd up their declining courages, by a most honourable example, offering the Senate his whole revenue for five years, which was no less than sixty thousand Duckats *per annum*. This noble Proposition not only confirm'd the irrefolute, encouraged the timorous, and supply'd their necessities for the present, but has put them into such a posture, they are not probably to be destroy'd by any but themselves.

For the more effectual execution of the Orders of the Senate, they have a grand Provost in *Venice* who wears a long scarlet Robe, and is called by them *Contestabile*, he is attend-

attended by certain *Sbires*, in the nature of our Archers, and his Office is to suppress the insolence of such Rascals as disturb the security of the People. Nevertheless these *Sbires* dare not lay hands upon a Gentleman, and if at any time it be their duty to seize upon any of them, they throw their Cloaks over their head, and muffling them up in that manner, they carry them to Prison. The Office of these *Sbires* is so slavishly miserable, a Nobleman, Citizen, or Stranger, (let his condition be what it will) if he can prove him guilty of the least offence, may stab or pistol any of them, without any danger of being punished.

The Water and the *Gondoloes* are as so many Sanctuaries, no meddling with any man there, no execution of Justice, and Criminal upon the Water is as secure against the

the Sergants, as a man behind a Mud-wall, is against the stab of a Pen-knife. The Houses of Ambassadors are in like manner so secured, that if the greatest *Banditti* in *Italy* but touch the threshold of their Door, he is exempt, and secure against any kind of violence: besides these they have certain privileged places, in which no man is to be disturb'd, and their privileges are kept inviolable, but if they catch any of them out of their *Asylum*, they are lyable to the Lash, and away they go to Prison. Fire-Arms are so peremptorily forbidden in this City, that 'tis an unpardonable offence to wear any there, and he that makes use of them, if he be taken, dies without mercy: by which piece of severity they prevent many assassinations, which otherwise would be too frequent in that place, The

stab

stab with a *stiletto* (which is a kind of Dagger the *Italians* wear behind their Robes) is not so criminal, for that sport being acted man to man, and the blows mutual and alternate, the *Venetian* concerns himself not so much where the combate is equal, and one may kill his enemy, as soon as his enemy him.

Thus far I have entertain'd you with the pleasantness of that City, and other Towns upon the Continent, as are happy and at peace, we have made some Observations upon them, and concluded (according to our judgement) that notwithstanding the diversity in their age, humours, and qualities, their Unity and Concord is so great, there is no revolution to be suspected in that Commonwealth.

But now the noise of Trumpets
and

and Drums, the shouts and acclamations of the Souldiers calling me away, I must fall down with them to the Island of *Lio*, where they are usually embark'd. The Galleys and Gallions trick'd up with their Banners and Penons, and as it were sunk and swallow'd up in the smook of their great Guns, perswades me the General may be embarking himself, and all these valiant men imploy'd upon some extraordinary Enterprize. It would be a shame not to be a Souldier amongst so many brave persons, and I that have formerly learn'd my Trade amongst them, cannot leave them in honour in any noble Expedition: nevertheless while the Souldiers and Officers are preparing for their Voyage, and the generous Cavalier taking leave of his Mistress, I shall have time to speak a word or two of their Military Policy.

THE
MILITARY POLICY
OF THE
VENETIAN.

The Second Book.

CHAP. I.

Of the Venetian Militia
in general.

That War of all
professions in
the World is
the most noble
and honourable,
is a thing so un-
deniably clear,
God Almighty amongst his Titles

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in

in the holy Scriptures seems to affect none more than to be called the *God of battel*, *The Lord of Hosts*, &c. and the weapon he most commonly us'd for the destruction of his enemies was the sword, which to this day discriminates betwixt the Souldier, and the rest of the people. Kings (which are his Vicegerents upon earth) delighted with the Title of *Invincible*, prefer it to all other Epethites whatever; and the Nobility would never be reckon'd the right arm of their Prince, if they were not naturally more valiant than ordinary.

The bravery which excites the Gentry of *France*, and makes them run voluntarily into so many dangers, is in that respect more honourable than the *Venetians*, the Nobility amongst these being oblig'd by indispensable necessity, (as be-
ing

ing the heads of that State) to do their own business themselves ; for being eternally jealous of strangers, and afraid to put the sword into their hands, who may possibly make use of it to their prejudice, they seldom imploy them in any considerable Command, and if at any time they be forc'd, it is with such caution and restraint, that they seem rather to tye up their hands, than to put them in arms. But that their proceedings may be less obscure, and their Military Methods transmitted more clearly, I shall begin with their chief Officers, and give a description of them.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of their Generalissimo.

THE Authority of the *Generalissimo* is so absolute from the very moment of his Embarkment, that during his Government, (for three years) the Republick it self can scarce take notice of his actions. His Cabbin is like a little Senate, from whence all Orders relating any way to the Wars do constantly issue; and in some respects he might be call'd independant, were he not at the end of his Reign to give an account of his behaviour to the Counsel of Ten, to answer to such Questions as shall be ask'd, to purge himself of such Crimes as he may

may be accus'd of, and in defect of that, to suffer and be expos'd to the same punishment as the meanest of the people. And it is no extraordinary thing there, if he has any enemy considerable, or has not demean'd himself with the civility expected, to fall under the lash, and receive a severe chastisement from the Counsel of Ten.

There are most commonly several Generals in the service of the *Venetian*, but with such subordination and dependance upon this, they receive their Orders from him, and his Command is their sufficient direction: and this is a custome far from the practice of any other part of *Europe*, where frequently by the multitude and independance of their Generals, they weaken their Armies, and render them rather dis-membred than commanded. It is no easie mat-

ter, (especially if they be persons of conduct and courage) to preserve a sincere amity and affection betwixt two plac'd in equal authority. For the jealousy of being less esteem'd than his Partner, thrusts him violently upon all hazards, and sets his wits upon the Tenter, to find out some way or other of depriving him of honour, and working himself into the favour of the people: if they be different in their humours, one brave and adventurous, the other slow and deliberate, how is it possible such diversity should consist with any design, or produce any thing to the honour of the State? And of this, in the late Wars we have seen sundry examples, where these kind of divisions have been so prejudicial, that more than one Army have been defeated, (or endanger'd at least) for not being seasonably re-
liev'd

liev'd by those who though they were distinct by their Commissions, ought nevertheless to have made but one body, seeing both had taken arms for the same interests. The satisfaction to see ones Competitor beaten will not suffer a man sometimes to come in to his rescue, every one triumphing in the misfortunes of his Rival. Battels at Sea are much more dangerous and uncertain than the Engagements upon Land; in those, providence, diligence, and the knowledge of the Countrey, are the three things which give life and assurance to an Army, there upon any sudden, or unexpected accident or advantage, their deliberation is short, and their resolution easie; but at Sea if any thing be to be debated, they cannot run immediately to Counsel, and they must attend the turning of the Wind, the coming in of

the Tide, (which perhaps is six hours too late) before they can be in a possibility of executing their Orders, insomuch that many a fair Enterprize is lost, which two moments before would have been glorious and successfull. For these Reasons the Republick of *Venice* commits all to the *Generalissimo*, who has full power of himself to fight, retreat, or attempt any thing, that in his judgement may be honourable, or advantageous to the State.

The principal business of this omnipotent Office, is to prevent or interrupt the coming down of the *Ottoman* Fleet from the *Euxine* Sea, into the *Archipelago*, to this purpose having got his Navy together, he places it behind certain desert Islands, (of which that Sea is full) in manner of an *Ambuscade*, or else takes his Post in a strait

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strait passage under the currant of
the two Castles (*Cestos* and *Abidos*) by which the *Turks* must of
necessity come, which is not to be
done without disorder, if the least
opposition be added to the strait-
ness and rapidity of the Sea. *Tenedos* was formerly an incomparable
advantage, where their whole
Fleet might ride securely at anchor,
attend their motions with patience,
and assail them upon occasion with
very probable success, but the
Treason of one of their own Coun-
treymen depriv'd them of that,
which was of universal importance
to all Christendome. I my self
was at that time in their service,
when that accident happen'd, and
could perhaps give a particular ac-
count of the whole transaction,
but I shall say no more, than that
there are the Heads of four or five
hundred *French* still to be seen upon

the Walls of the Castles, which seem to cry out for vengeance, against the perfidiousness of those who deliver'd them into their hands.

The place of the *Generalissimo* upon any considerable Engagement, is alwayes in the Van of his whole Fleet; no Ship being permitted before him but the General of the Gulf, who alwayes begins the Charge. The *Generalissimo's* Galley is constantly very rich, and having serv'd one General, never descends to his Successor. The *Venetian*-Generals may (not improperly) be said to resemble the ancient Consuls among the *Romans*, which History has describ'd to us marching alwayes in their Robes, and not putting them off in the very Crisis of the Battel. They are commonly persons of choice experience and resolution, other-

otherwise if they behave themselves dishonourably, they are sure to be punish'd severely. They are not so precise and curious of their age, if they have merit and capacity, 'tis sufficient for their Election. The brave *Moccinego* who died with so much honour at the head of his Fleet, was not compleat five and thirty years old, and doubtless had he escap'd that misfortune, the great designs he had on foot, (which yet were easie with his conduct) would questionless have succeeded, and advanc'd him to that height which his virtue deserv'd. To speak the truth, there were many, and those considerable Errors in that Engagement, which I have heard many grave Captains enumerate and prove. The *Ballot* is the way which they make use of in the Election of this Officer, every one giving his Vote in a little Bowl,

Bowl. Upon these occasions, the young Gentlemen of the City will endeavour as boldly as any of the rest; and though there was great contest in the Election of *Moccenigo*, and the ancients for carried it at first, yet the youth solicited so vigourously, in spite of all opposition they created him at last.

This Command is not perpetual, but constituted by the Republick *pro re nata*, when War is openly proclaimed, and the necessity of their affairs requires it; when they cease, that Office ceases with them, and the principal Command devolves upon the General of the Gulf.

CHAP. III.

The General of the Gulf.

THE General of the Gulf is a perpetual Charge, and (as a man may say) never expires, for the *Venetians* looking upon themselves as sovereign in the *Adriatick Sea*, (which is call'd the Gulf of *Venice*) maintain a constant Squadron of Gallies, and men of War on foot, as well in peace as in war, to keep their Subjects in the Isles of *Dalmatia* in obedience, to protect their Frontiers upon the *Mediterranean*, and secure them from the surprizes of the *Pirats* and *Corsaires*, with which that Sea is grievously infested.

The

The War in the Gulf is prosecuted without quarter, no Prisoners are taken there, and that Captain who for compassion or advantage gives any of them their lives, loses his own most certainly for his labour. All the Renegadoes they meet with, are hang'd immediately upon the Main-yard, and if their Wives be in their company, they never part them: if any Christians turn Pirats, and fall into their clutches, they run the same destiny infallibly, and by this impartial justice it is they preserve their Dominion in the Gulf.

This being the most ancient of all their Officers, he has upon that score the honour of commanding (as it were) the forlorn, and making the first insult upon the enemy, though otherwise he is commanded by the *Generalissimo*, and receives his Orders without dispute.

pute. His Command is simply at Sea, and as soon as any of his Soldiers are landed, they are out of his jurisdiction: yet among the *Venetians* he is reputed a very considerable Officer, upon whose conduct and integrity the peace of all *Italy* depends, that Countrey being (as every one knows) bounded on one side by that Sea, as high as *Capo d'Histria*.

His authority extends no further than *Zant*, *Cephalonia*, and *Corfeu*, (the most remote Islands in the Gulf) he never sets foot on shore, but upon some necessary, or very important occasion. His ordinary station in time of peace is either at *Corfeu*, the Gulf of *Catara*, or *Zant*, which are three Ports of necessity to be pass'd by all that go to *Venice*. This Squadron is a kind of an Out-guard, plac'd on purpose to break the first effort of
the

the enemy, to obstruct their passage, and to give opportunity to the Countreys under their protection to put themselves into a posture of defence. When the Republick is not engaged in any actual Wars, their young Nobles are sent constantly to the General of the Gulf, to be educated in arms, and out of this Nursery it is they are furnished with those illustrious Officers, who so frequently and successfully attempt the vast Navies of the *Turk*.

By this policy they reap two very considerable Effects: one is, they bring up their youth (as it were) in the lap of danger and War, and by a continual custome of confronting them to the enemy, they give them such a habit of valour, as is never to be dismai'd either by the potentest enemy, or the most terrible accident they can meet

meet with. And yet the other is more considerable than this, enuring them by degrees to an obedience to their Equals, and not to mutiny against their Commands, by a sottish pretence, *That they are as good, and know as much as themselves.* This I have seen in other places, but to speak truth, it neither favours of a Souldier nor a gallant man, who whilst he lives will never decline any honourable action upon any occasion whatever.

If the *Generalissimo* dies, or comes to any unfortunate accident, the General of the Gulf succeeds him on course, and takes the Command of the Army without any contradiction; a wise and prudent way to break the neck of all divisions which might arise for the Command, which too often proves like a Plague in an Army, and destroys more men than the enemies Sword.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Of the General of their Galeasses, and their Governours.

THIS Command requires a man of resolution and judgement, the whole success of their Battels depending principally upon him. He has the Command (as a man may say) of the Bulworks which secure the Fleet, opposing his Galeasses as so many impregnable Ramparts against the fury of all at-
raques, and when-ever he forces himself into the middle of his enemies, he breaks their Squadrons, disorders their Battaliaes, and forces even victory it self to declare for his party.

The

The Captain of every Galeass under his Command is call'd the Governour, to shew the importance of the Charge with which he is entrusted, and that not impertinently, seeing in effect they are as so many floating Castles, in which they have commonly a thousand men in Garrison, who mount the Guards, and are reliev'd, take their several Posts, keep their Sentinels, and go the Rounds with as much order and punctilio, as they use in our Citadels. They have each of them a hundred pieces of whole Canon, (which demonstrates their puissance when they are in a body) and by the help of their Sails and their Oars, they perform the service both of the Gallies and Gallions, making their way in a calm by the force of their Oars, and by the benefit of their Sails, (with the least gale of wind) they

they manage themselves as nimbly as any other of their Ships.

These Ships being of an unimaginable expence, the *Venetian* entertains no great number of them in his service; the most I ever saw at one time together in their Fleet was but six, yet for fear of any accident, they have several more in their Arsenal of this and all other sorts ready to put to Sea. Their confidence in these Ships is so great, they conclude them invincible, and a Town which has one of them to make good the entrance into its harbour, believes it self secure, and despises all other protection. The famous *Tenedos* had two of these Machines for the defence of its fortress, and certainly it had been safe, had they been kept to their station, but the power of his money having carried them away, the *Bassa* found a way to carry the Island.

Be-

Besides the Punctilio of honour which animates the Governours, they are under a necessity of being brave, or dying with infamy. This is it which makes them fight with resolution, and neither take nor give quarter to any, if one of these Governours yields to five and twenty Gallies, (though the number be sufficient to fright a whole Fleet) he must have a care of coming again into the clutches of the *Venetians*, if he does, the best entertainment he can expect is to have his head chop'd off in his own Ship, in the sight of the whole *Armada*. Never was any stranger entrusted with the Command of the Gallies, not but the Souldiers and Crew are generally forreign, and the Officers for the most part of the same Countreys with them; but all are subordinate to their Governour,

nour, who receives no Orders but from his General, and the General none but from the *Generalissimo* himself. I might in this place give a Character of the severity of their Military Laws, which forgives no body that is either Coward or Traytor: but it is scarce to be imagined, a man who has the ambition of putting for so great a Command, can want courage and resolution to manage it when obtain'd: and when any of them are executed, 'tis not so much for their cowardise or fear, as for their Treason, in betraying the good opinion conceiv'd of their Conduct. If we were but half so rigid in *France*, it would preserve many a Town, and people would consider very well how they engaged in a Command, that abus'd never so little, would cost them so dear. By this way the *Venetian* teaches his

his

his Officers to know them, yet he feldem puts these Charges into any mans hands, but such as they are sure are faithfull, and capable to manage them.

CHAP. V.

Of the General of the Gallions, and the Captains under his Command.

THese Gallions are alwayes commanded by a Gentleman of *Venice*, no other Nation being admittable to that Charge; the roguery of some foreigners who ran away with some of these Vessels ready rigg'd, having taught them more wit than to trust them for the future: but their Workmen and Mechanicks are indifferently

rently of all Countreys. Sometimes they hire Ships of the *Hollander* or *English*, ready equip'd, and pay them every moneth, but they must be Commanded by a noble *Venetian*.

The great Vessels which they take now and then from the *Turk*, they call *sultans*, and they are set out again at the expence of the publick : though the Commander of a *Sultan* be in reality no more than the simple Captain of a Ship, yet he is more considerable, it being look'd upon as the mark of a particular esteem, when one is advanced to such an authority as that.

And this they do to diffuse an insensible jealousy among their Commanders, recompensing him whom they judge to have deserv'd well, with the honour of a Charge, which has nothing in it above the rest,

rest, but an innovated name. In this particular they seem to imitate the example of the *Romans*, who (to animate their Souldiers) presented them with rewards, very trivial and inconsiderable to the eye, but (if measured with the honour they brought along with them to the party) they were vast accumulations of glory.

This General having all the *Margazines* of the Fleet on board his Gallions, he is of no mean importance amongst them, and to speak truth no man is ever admitted to that Command till he has given undeniable evidence of his prudence and Conduct. They seldom come to grapple, or to a very close fight with their enemy, but with their broad sides they do terrible execution.

CHAP. VI.

Of their Sur-Comites of the Gallies.

THat is the name by which they distinguish the Commanders of their Gallies from their other Captains. They are generally young Gentlemen, who go on purpose to enure themselves to the Wars, and make themselves eminent by some remarkable service. The Hull, and materials of the Gallies are deliver'd out of the Arsenal, with all manner of provisions both for the belly and the Wars, but the Rowers, the Soldiers, and all manner of imbellishment, is at the charge of the Officers.

cers. As to their pay, the Republick discharges it from the time they are imbark'd, and to recompence the expence of the Captain in some measure, he disposes of all interiour places in his Galley. There being alwayes an unsatiabie emulation amongst the young Nobles, this is the occasion that every one strives and contends with his whole force to out-do his companion, and signalize himself by some remarkable action. In their Cabins and Quarters there is no want of guilding or fine painting, and the rich Stuffs of which their Flags and Penons are made, demonstrates most clearly how unwilling they are to be out-done. In this manner the Republick appears most pompously splendid, at the charge of other people, and employs the vanity and ambition of her young Gentlemen, to her own magnificence and glory. G 2 Be-

Before these newly equip'd Gallies venture out to Sea, they are exercis'd by their Officers twice or thrice a day, betwixt the *Place of St. Mark* and *Lio*, and when their Supervisors think them capable of doing service, within two or three moneths they are sent away, not to the Fleet, but to the Squadron which is left behind for the security of the Gulf, and there it is they compleat and perfect their discipline.

The expence of their setting out being but superficial, and the fancy they have for their own contrivances, vanishing with the guilt and painting, which in a short time the wind and the weather have defac'd, all the ambition they have left, is only to put themselves as forward as their companions dare go, and it is no small excitement to their courage, to consider they
hazard

hazard nothing of their own but their lives, the Republick being ready to furnish them with ten new Galleys for one that is lost. Whereas on the contrary if the Officers be Proprietors, their whole fortune depending upon their Vessel, their interest will make them decline those dangers, which perhaps their valour would attempt.

When these Galleys are Com-manded out to any Engagement, to advance into the *Hellspont*, and confine the *Turks* to the *white Sea*, they are re-inforc'd with foreign Souldiers, besides what they had afore. They are distributed so politickly into the Galleys, they cannot possibly get to a body, and disposed with that artifice, a Captain shall scarce ever have a dozen of his own Souldiers aboard the Ship where he is himself.

Though this be a mark of their diffidence and distrust, yet by this expedient they secure themselves against the worst; and it is possible they may do it to animate their Souldiers, that by making them suspect they are jealous of their courage, they might be push'd forward the more to convince them of their mistake: for doubtless he who can nettle his Souldiers in point of their honour, has no small command of the courage of his Army. We have seen in our days several effects of this jealousy, and particularly in the first Wars in *Flanders*, in which the animosity betwixt the *Walloons* and the *Spaniards*, was the occasion of the loss of several Towns to the *Hollander*, which otherwise the experience or gallantry of their General would never have taken. But this variance amongst the Souldiers precipitated their

their pains, hastned their assaults, and by a happy temerity thrust them upon that, which without those Considerations they would have look'd upon as desperate.

These Captains wear their ordinary Vestments constantly, and are habited in their Gallies at the same rate as if they were in the *Place of St. Mark*, by which means they preserve to themselves the same respect as if they were in the Town. They retain the same pride and opinion of themselves also, for let things go as they list otherwise, they will alwayes be known to be Gentlemen of *Venice*. Their Gallies are small and light, of that sort which they call *Gall'ie Sutili*, but something more nimble and easie to manage, and they have generally aboard them the best Canoniers in the World. Their Canon in their Men of War

seldom carry above thirty or forty pound Ball. Besides the Canon aforesaid, they have alwayes upon the Prow of the Ship four small Guns, which their Canoniers will discharge as certainly, and with as sure execution, as we can do with our *Fuzils*. Upon the sides and flanks of the Ship they have other Engines of mischief, but the greatest hurt they do is with certain murdering peeces, (which they call *Moschetti a Cavaletto*) that are plac'd upon the Steerage.

Their *Bonnevogliés* or Rowers are of great use to them upon any extremity, for being all of them Christians, and accustomed to danger, they arm them (against any Engagement) with Stones and Cuttelasses, and promising to encrease their pay, they make them supply the rooms of such Souldiers as are kill'd. But the *Turks* dare
not

not do so, for most of their Oars being Christian Slaves, kept constantly in chains, and most miserable captivity, they seldom dare hazard a Combate, their apprehension of the Slaves they have on board, being as terrible to them, as the enemy before their face.

CHAP. VII.

Of the General or Governor of Candia.

THOUGH his Command be strictly upon Land, yet I rank him amongst the Officers of the Fleet, because being in an Island he may be said to be constantly at Sea. His authority is much the same as

that of a Viceroy with us : it is continued only for three years, to prevent any ambitious designs which otherwise might be suggested by so eminent a Government.

He gives a punctual accompt of whatever is done in the Island, and though the principal Command be in him, he dares not enterprize any thing but by the Counsel, and consent of such persons as the Republick have plac'd about him. Before their late Wars with the *Turk*, this was one of the most illustrious Commands belonging to this Commonwealth; but of late it is much lessen'd, and reduc't to some few Towns which the Articles of *Candia* have left them.

Since the taking of that, they have only two places remaining, not very capacious, but considerable in their harbours and strength, the Governours of each of them are nomi-

nominated by the Governour-General. The Towns are called *Spinalonga* and *Suda*, places of good retreat, in case of disaster. The situation of *Spinalonga* is admirable, and it was strange to me to find it so ill provided with men. But I suppose their great confidence is in the Sea on one side, and the Rocks on the other.

In the Offices of *Generalissimo*, and General of *Candia*, they never put two persons who are in perfect intelligence, lest having the two Keys of the Commonwealth at their Girdle, they should open the way to any design, and permit their ambition to enter.

Before the surrender of the Metropolis, his authority was not only in Military, but in Civil affairs, and he Order'd them both at his pleasure, insomuch that the ancient Majesty of the Kings of *Crete* seem'd

seem'd not to be altogether extinct, the Generals Court, his Jurisdiction, and Habit, representing no small resemblance of Royalty.

The forreign Generals who Commanded the Troops of the Island, had all of them their Orders from him, which were to be constantly obey'd, if not, they were left to his censure, but with appeal to the Senate, who are not subject to those effluxions of passion, as their Viceroy's may be. In short, they give him this authority to render him the more respected, and enable him to see the Orders transmitted to him, executed with more exactness. And doubtless were he not supported by this absolute Command, which is no little terrour to the inferiour Officers, who are generally such as have not been much acquainted with the Field, those which have more skill
in

in their profession, would possibly undervalue his Orders, and from that negligence, grow by degrees insolent and contumacious, which is the next step to rebellion.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the General of Dalmatia.

THE General of *Dalmatia* has more Countreys and more Towns under his Command, than the General of *Candia*, and yet his Charge is not esteem'd so honourable as the other, for which cause I place him after the General of *Candia*, and amongst the Officers of the Fleet, because his authority extends it self principally along the Coasts of the Gulf. The

The chief Towns under his Government are *Zara, Clissa, Spalatro, Zebenico, Caltaro, Dulcingo*, and others, besides an infinite number of little Isles, the Countrey of the *Morlaiks*, and the ancient *Sclavonia*. These Countreys are sufficiently inhabited with a laborious and warlike people, amongst which the *Morlaiks* bear the Bell, and are especially eminent. I must confess in all my Travels I never saw any Nation so subtil and dextrous at inroads and incursions as theirs, nor that behaved themselves better upon any desperate rencounter, but one of their greatest encouragements is their knowledge of the Mountains, with which they are perfectly well acquainted. They usually incamp near some considerable Town with their Families and Cattel, without any military Order at all, and when they

they are threaten'd with a Siege, or find themselves unable to keep the Field, they retire into the Town, and are no small re-enforcement to the Garrison.

The places abovesaid are all of them considerable, and well fortified, only *Cattaro* lyes under the Command of certain great Hills, which they call the *black Mountains*. Nevertheless the entrance into the Harbour is secur'd by a strong Castle, which facilitates the access of supplies, and by consequence makes it no easie matter to reduce.

This General has the oversight of all these Towns, he supervises, and supplies all their Magazines, he gives all Orders, and sends out what parties or persons he pleases, to make discovery of the Enemy. If at any time he conceives a probability of performing any thing
con-

considerable, without being intercepted by the *Turk*, he draws out what Souldiers he thinks fit out of his Garrisons, (which are alwayes well furnish'd) and forming them into a flying Army, he pursues his design. He has forreign Generals under him, as the General of *Candia* had formerly, and Commands them with the same authority. If any considerable disaster happens within the compass of his Government, all is imputable to him, which is that which quickens his vigilance, and makes him more than ordinarily diligent and active.

The Bassa of *Bosnia* is a troublesome Neighbour of his, but he sweetens him often with his *Sequins*. He pretends to have a great confidence in the people of that Countrey, who are very stout, and by that confidence he acquires their affection. He trusts such
Go-

Governments and Garrisons in their hands, as he has power to dispose of himself, yet he is alwayes accountable to the State; a sure way to have good Officers, for he who is to answer for such as he prefers, will not readily admit any that are incapable, nor open his eyes to any thing but desert.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Grand-Captains.

HE who considers nothing but the duty of their places, will at first dash believe these Captains but Officers of peace. But though the Sword be not in their hands every hour of the day, yet they have no inconsiderable part in

in the Militia of this State.

These are they who in their several precincts upon the *Terra-firma* receive all the new Levies which are made in forreign parts, for the service of this Republick; these are they which model and form them, and teach them their duties; these are they who see them muster'd constantly every moneth, and by some little qualifications encourage them in the service. By the gravity of their discipline and comportment, they enure them to a more regular life, and more composedness in their manners: if they behave themselves otherwise than well, they punish them as severely; but there is no quarter for one that runs from his Colours.

They keep an exact eye over all the Cavalry in their Garrisons, and will by no means suffer either
Horse

Horse or Arms to pass Muster that is not punctually passable. And as they are rigid on the one side, so are they as just on the other, paying them to a day what is due, and supplying them faithfully with whatever is Order'd them by the State. Being not much acquainted with the management of Horse, upon any general Muster, or some such *Parade*, they commonly are assisted by a Marshal, or other experienc'd Officer; for even in those Shews only they are so precise, one of these Grand-Captains at *Padua* would not believe me capable of Commanding the *Gens d'Armes* of the *Chevalier Gremonville*, because my Beard and Mustachoes were not so large as he would have had them.

Their principal aim is, in the name of the Republick to make themselves Masters of the Towns where

where they are sent, but with the greatest sweetness and insinuation imaginable; for taking alwayes the most plausible pretences that are conducing to their ends, they quarter the Souldiers apart by themselves, to prevent (forsooth) their insolencies to the people, and the disorders might otherwise arise, by the inextinguishable antipathy which continually reigns betwixt a Souldier and a Citizen: but in truth it is for two other Reasons:

The first is, that they may have alwayes a considerable body together, ready to present themselves where the safety or advantage of the Commonwealth requires, because when they are separate in several Streets, and remote places, it is not easie to get them together in a short time, without giving the Enemy advantage by this division and delay. Besides nothing being
so

so natural to a Souldier as debauchery, when they have no retreat or place to return to, where they are afraid to be seen, nothing encourages them so much to be licentious, or occasions more insolence and disorder.

The other is, to take away all means from the Nobility and Citizens of the Town to conspire against the Souldiers, and (by surprising them) to commence a Rebellion, and that with the more ease, in respect that they have cut off the greatest part of their opposition. They have heard the Story of the *Sicilian Vespers* and understanding well the *Italian* humour, (which is their own) they are jealous of all the World, and for that reason they keep exact Guards within their quarters night and day. In their *Carnivals* and dayes of Recreation, in which they can-

not

not plausibly hinder their Assemblies and Masquerades, that might give opportunity perhaps to some pernicious design. Under pretence of preserving the peace, and preventing particular quarrels and assassinations, which in those disguises might be perpetrated without discovery, they draw what Forces they have into the Town, clap Guards in the most important places, secure the Avenues, and Commanding the remainder both of Horse and Foot to follow, they go up and down the whole City visiting the Balls and Dancings, where they observe the greatest Confidence of people.

By this admirable artifice they make themselves Masters where ever they come, and divert the inclination of the most turbulent spirits from attempting any thing against the State, by rendering it impossible

possible for them to have any success.

For their Souldiers in the *fla*
Countrey they have another policy;
which is both subtil and good:
that they may be well disciplin'd,
ready for service, and their num-
ber known exactly, they have a ge-
neral Muster every moneth, in e-
very Countrey upon the *Terra-fir-*
ma, they levy new men, appoint
them their Officers, deliver them
arms, Command them to be Ex-
ercised, and treat them very graci-
ously with the Title of *Signori Sol-*
dati, *Gentlemen Souldiers*: but
they pay dear enough afterwards
for those two honourable words;
and I am perswaded they do it on
purpose to make them weary of
the Wars. If the weather be
worse than other at any time either
in Summer or Winter, they will
be sure to Muster them in that,
and

and that they may be certain to have their share of it, they will appoint their Rendezvouz in some open and desart Plain, where the Sun (which in Summer is very vehement in those parts) and the Snow and Cold (which is no less troublesome in Winter) have their full play at them, and do so torture the poor Peasant, that there is nothing they have in the whole World, but they will give to have their Names put out of their Rolls. If (besides their arms which are very heavy) they carry no Provant along with them, they may return a hungry, for any care is taken of them, it being expressly forbid that any Victuallers or Subtellers appear in the place of their Rendezvouz. Their arms are not entrusted with them after their Exercise is done, they have only the priviledge of bringing them

to them back upon their shoulders,
will and delivering them up to their
me Grand-Captain at their return.
the By this severity they tire out those
ery poor Creatures, and make them
the abominate the Trade of a Souldier,
less which is indeed no more than what
ave the *Venetian* designs.

CHAP. X.

*Of their Forreign Gene-
rals.*

THe Commanders which we
have hitherto presented, are
chosen out of the body of the *Vene-
tian* Nobility, for a long succession
of time there having scarce one o-
ther person been entrusted with
those Charges. Nevertheless up-

on occasion they have been necessitated to have recourse to Strangers, and to give them considerable Commands, either because they believe the *Tramontani* (which is the name they call all Strangers by) more vigorous and active than their own Countreymen, or else that they desire to preserve their own Nobility, keeping them still for the chiefeft and most honourable employments, and committing all things of peril and danger to the conduct of Forreigners; in which respect they are not very niggardly of the Title of General, of which sort they will create several according to their necessities, and the quality or ambition of the persons they entertain. And in this number there are three extraordinary, The General of *Dalmatia*, the General of the Forces Commanded on shore, and the General of *Candia*.

CHAP. XI.

*The Forreign General in
Dalmatia.*

NEXT to the Proveditor-General, (which is a noble *Venetian*) this Forreign General is the chief person both in the Countrey and Army, and has the Command of all the Militia, but so as he can do or attempt nothing but by the consent of the Proveditor, in whose absence he gives all Orders both in the Field and the Garrisons : and it is remarkable, (whether they be chosen on purpose of different humours, or that the jealousy inherent to their Command suffers them not to agree) they

are never in any great intelligence with one another, and yet (which is most strange) never at so much odds as to prejudice the State.

One thing in my judgement is something strange in this Charge, and that is the small authority this General has , for besides the honours and formalities pay'd him by the Souldiers, he has not the privilege to gratifie any of his men with a dayes pay, or a loaf of bread more than their due, but by the expresse Order of the Proveditor, and when he does, it is most certainly out of his own purse.

The Souldiers for the most part having greater difference and respect for the person who in all dangers is constantly at their head, fights amongst them perpetually, and bears his share in all the difficulties they endure, the Proveditor (who thinks it beneath him to live in that
Com-

Community) keeps a constant eye upon the actions of his rival, and by the Sovereign authority with which he is endued, restrains any exorbitance that might flow from their affection.

In this manner they allow the Forreign General power enough to Command the Army, and to March them out when he pleases, yet with such restriction, it is clear they intend all should depend upon the *Venetian*, and that the honour of all noble atchievements should devolve upon him, as well as the power of punishments and rewards, as he is Commander in chief. Hence it is that the Souldier receiving nothing but from his hands, believes he is to serve nothing but the Commonwealth, and obeys his Outlandish General for no other reason but because he Commands for them; a policy by which they

are sure to be Masters, let who will Command, and secures them against any apprehension of making of parties. *Don Camillo Gonzague* was General in this nature, the last Campagnia I made in their service, he died as he was upon his return at *Capo d'Istria*, not without suspicion of having taken a Pill.

I shall say nothing of the General of *Candia*, he being but another arm, which receives its life and agitation from the same head as the other. Some of these Generals have been punish'd severely, and particularly the late *Monsieur de la Valette*, who was made an eminent example of the power of their Chiefs, when they represent the body of their Republick, and it will not be long before the *Chevalier de Gremonville* will be able to tell some Stories of his own.

CHAP. XII.

*Of the General of the Forces
drawn out of the Fleet upon
occasion.*

THE most considerable strength
of the *Venetian* are his Forces
at Sea, which may be call'd their
great Outguards, plac'd on pur-
pose to resist and repel any sudden
or impetuous insult, which their
Enemy might make. In *Candia*
and *Dalmatia* they do but fence,
and put by the Passes which the
Turks make upon them, and if they
lose nothing in a *Campania*, they
think themselves happy enough:
but in their Fleet it is clear other-
wise,

wise, they fight, they attacque, they search for their Enemy, and if they find him not at Sea, they invade him upon Land, penetrating sometimes into the very heart of his Countrey, and making the most remote corners of his dominions tremble for fear, as much as those places which are adjacent to the Sea.

But forasmuch as all the *Venetian* Commanders have (as I said before) their particular employments, which they dare not desert; and a *Generalissimo* cannot abandon his Fleet, or leave it engaged in the middle of his enemies, they have their recourse to their Foreign Generals, who have the Command of such Forces as are to be drawn out of the several Ships, upon any emergent design. *Monsieur le Chevalier Gremonville* serv'd them in this capacity with as much honour

honour and success as his courage and virtue required. *Natolia* can very well witness what I say, where we who were upon that action, saw him (though wounded with a Musket-shot) shewing and directing (with his Sword and his blood) the way to overcome, to those who followed him at the siege of *Schismeset*.

The design upon Land being finish'd, or defeated, as soon as the Commanded Forces are returned to their Ships, the General lays down his authority, and retains no more than the Title of Excellence, which the proudest *Venetian* of them all will not refuse him, and this is the only lenitive that makes him swallow his degradation, and endure to walk cross-armed upon the Decks without any Command. True it is, upon any new Expedition he has authority as before, especially

cially if he be in any favour with the *Generalissimo*, then he has much more respect in the Army, and is caref'd as a person likely by his experience and conduct to procure great advantages to the Commonwealth, who to speak truth seldom advances any to that Command, but such as are well skill'd in military affairs.

Their enterprises are commonly deliberate, but their executions very quick, lest they should give the *Turks* (who swarm all along the Coasts of the *Archipelago*) opportunity to put themselves in arms, and hazard the being overlaid by their innumerable multitudes, and besides, they are unwilling to have their Souldiers and Officers any long time out of their Ships, for fear lest a good gale of wind should bring their enemies Fleet amongst them, which they might think further off. At

At the beginning of the Wars, these Generals were very well pay'd, but at present they are not so punctual; either that the protraction of the War has exhausted their treasure, or that they think to engage them the better to their service, by keeping them in continual hopes of receiving a considerable summe together: and peradventure to take away all means from them of ingratiating with the Souldier by their largesses and presents, which considering the greatness of their pay, they might possibly attempt, if it were constantly pay'd them.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Governour of Candia.

BESIDES the forreign General in *Candia*, there is a particular Governour in the Town, who to speak properly has the only Command of the Town, the Generals authority being in the Field, and the Governours in the Garrison.

The noble *Venetian* (who is as Viceroy of this Island) has these two Officers under him in the nature of his Lieutenants, to whom he commits the care and the danger, but retains the glory and reputation to himself. He derives his Orders to the Governour, and the

the Governour to the Officers under him. His jurisdiction reaches no further than the Walls of the Town, and his business is to have an eye over the Gates, to see his Guards accommodated, and in good order, to keep his Petrols constantly in the night, to keep his Souldiers to their duty, to fortifie where it is wanting, to repair what is decay'd, to prevent or suppress all disorders, and give an exact account of occurrences to the Viceroy.

In fine, all these Charges how great and considerable so ever they may appear, are notwithstanding so subordinate and depending, that those who enjoy them may be said to pay as much obedience to some people, as they receive from others themselves upon emergency or necessity. There are other Generals chosen to Command the Horse;

Horsé; and to gratifie the ambition of their suitors, they divide their Infantry into two bodies, (the *Italian*, and *Forreign*) and make a distinct General over each of them. The Artillery likewise has its proper General, and indeed when they have occasion for good Officers, and can be sure to keep them under, they do not scruple to give them what Titles they desire.

CHAP. XIV.

*Reflexions in manner of a
Recapitulation.*

THESE variety of Generals would make one at first sight expect more confusion than order in their Militia; but all is managed

ged with the same justice and exactness, as they were but so many members moved and actuated by one head. Their Territories being large and remote, they are forc'd to divide their Commands, and according to the example of the first Commonwealths, they give the same authority to their Generals in *Candia* and *Dalmatia*, both in Civil and Military affairs, as the *Romans* in ancient times granted to the Pro-Consuls in their several Provinces.

The *Generalissimo* at Sea seems to entrench somewhat too much upon the Liberty of the Republick, his immense power relishing more of the Sovereign than the Subject. But if we reflect upon the people about him, (who yet behave themselves towards him with all visible submission) we shall find them so great sharers in his authority,

ty, that should he meditate the least mischief imaginable to the prejudice of the State, or go about to insist upon his own force and authority, he would be deserted in a moment, and not one considerable man left with him to carry on his design. Moreover, not being Master of any one Town, he must be constrained to keep the Sea perpetually, or at length in the highest despair, to cast himself for protection into the hands of the Enemy, which would be a sad effect of an exorbitant ambition.

The private lives which these great persons are to lead when their Commissions are expired, and the strict account they give to the *Counsel of Ten*, keeps them continually in awe. They know very well that Court is inflexible, and when those great Titles and nominal Ornaments are taken away, they

they shall be liable to the censure of every Mechanick. For this reason every man looking upon his Neighbour as his enemy, they grow to such a habit of jealousy, they distrust all the World, and not daring to deviate for fear of being impeach'd, they regulate all their actions for the good of the Commonwealth.

When they admit any Stranger to their principal Commands, 'tis rather to participate of the peril than the honour, which they are tender of to the highest degree, and therefore they require so ready and so rigid a submission to all their Orders, that it is capital either not to execute them at all, or not to give them the glory when they have. *Raillery* and jesting, though innocent in it self, and the most common diversion of the *Cavaliers* in other parts, is so peremptorily for-

forbidden here, that it is look'd upon as a great want of respect, and provokes these hot-Spurs (who are puff'd up with their authority) so highly, that it requires a great deal of submission and address to recover their favours.

CHAP. XV.

Of their Armies in general.

THese Armies, governed and regulated by their military Laws, may without a Solecism be said to be moving Cities, wall'd about with their swords, their shields, and their arms; for as in a City they live not in confusion or disorder, but the diversity of Charges distin-

distinguishes betwixt the soveraign Magistrate and the inferiour, as likewise betwixt them, and the rest of the people: and for the better harmony and motion of affairs, a Chief is commonly chosen, upon whose shoulders they repose the whole care of the Publick; so in Field they take the same measures. The General is the first Mover which gives the swing and twirl to the rest of the great Officers, who convey it to the inferiour, and so it goes round. In this last military Order we have observ'd the most considerable effects, but honour not being alwayes the aim of all people, most part of the Souldiers having taken themselves to that course of life for their interest and profit, it falls out sometimes, that failing of their pay, and the rewards they expected, they complain, they threaten,
and

and at last run into an absolute defection. The length of the War is the thing many times which produces these divisions, the excessive expence they are at, disables them to keep their word with their Souldiers, and puts them upon a necessity of subtracting themselves from their service. The conversation they have with the Women of the Countrey where they are, debauches them, and prevails with them to marry, in hopes of having a *Camarade*, and fellow-sufferer in their sorrows, but they find themselves removed out of Gods blessing into the warm Sun, and that they have but augmented their misery, by obliging themselves to provide for their Families, when they were not able to provide for themselves. Nevertheless among the *Venetians* there is no such unhappiness, they pay their own Souldiers

Souldiers exactly, and have by that means hitherto prevented such disorders.

In the Garrisons upon the *Terra-firma* they pay their Souldiers every moneth, and they are so far from having any Debentures, they are alwayes in arrear to the Commonwealth. In *Candia* and *Dalmatia* 'tis possible they are not so punctually pay'd, but at long run, if they do it not in money, they pay them in such Commodities as will pass in those Countreys at a certain rate. The Generals ears are open to the complaint of a Souldier against his Officer, and redresses him where he is injured, but it is with so admirable equity, that he maintains the rights of the one, without destroying the respect and distance of the other. Their Armies consist principally of Foot, for having had experience of
how

how little importance their Cavalry was to them in such mountainous and unpassable places, they entertain some few Companies, more for the name of having Horse, than for any great service they expect from them.

CHAP. XVI.

Of their Cavalry.

THeir Cavalry is divided into two sorts, Their *gros Cavalry*, or *Cuirassiers*, which are like our *Gens d'Armes*, and their *Capelets à Cheval*, like our light Horse, and the Commands of these two bodies are never sold. In the time when I was in their service, they had three Companies of these *Gens d'Armes*,

d' Armes, which were called *Ultramontani*, and not one *Italian* allow'd to be amongst them. Commonly this Republic confers these Commands upon some of their Forreign Generals, in lieu of some considerable pay, or in recompence of some remarkeable piece of service. These Governours of the *Cuirassiers* (for so it is they are called) have the nomination of their Captain-Lieutenants, their Cornets, and other inferiour Officers, but they first present them to the Senate for approbation, which method *Monsieur le Chevalier Gremouville* us'd, when he gave me my Command under him.

The *Italian Cuirassiers* are reduc'd to four Companies; every one of them is oblig'd to keep his Horse and his arms fix'd and in good order, and such as are lazy and negligent are sure to be punish'd
at

at the next Muster, which for the most part is every forty dayes. They have alwayes a constant Guard about their Standard, where-ever they are quarter'd, and to speak truth, these are like Soldiers indeed, perpetually in the same posture, as if they were in the very face of their Enemy. Their Discipline is the same with the *Germans*, they march, wheel, and draw off very close and entire. Each Company consists of sixty men so brave and well order'd, there is scarce any attempt so difficult, but may be thought feasible by them. That Officer which among us is call'd a *Marshall des Logis*, is term'd by them a *Quarter-Master*, and every Brigade has its Corporal to overlook it. They are arm'd *Cap-a-pied* when they go to the Wars, their Carbines and Swords by their sides, and their Pistols

Pistols at their Saddle-Bow. The firmness and constancy of these *Gens d'armes* is sufficient to discompose the most resolute of their enemies; but the principal use of them is to keep their ground, and secure their Foot, not being able to keep pace with the light Horse in their inroads into the Countrey, by reason of the weight of their arms, and the heaviness of their Horses.

They are never sent all of them to the Army, but they go according to their ranks, and are there more for shew than any thing else. The *Turks* are nevertheless very fearfull of engaging them, by reason their close and firm way of fighting admits no impression, how furious soever their Charges be made. Being cover'd with good arms, the *Turkish Sabre* does but little execution, and their attacks being short, they are quick-

ly repell'd. They stand their ground, and receive the Enemy very steadily, never discharging their *Carabines* till they be within ten or twelve paces. When they fall in, the service grows bloody, for having fired their Pistols, they fall to it with their Swords, which being broad and long, does the mischief both of a *Coutelas* and a Tuck.

That they might not nourish a plague in their bowels, which might be able at length to corrupt the whole body, they cashier all Souldiers which do not live honourably, and in order. They use no other way of chastisement, lest they might irritate their old Cavaliers by the ignominious spectacle, if they should hang one of their *Camrades*. The old Generals have a great esteem for them, and use them very kindly, which tyes their af-

their affections inseparably to them, and their pay being more than ordinary, it is not ordinarily known that any of these Souldiers forsakes his Company.

For their conveniencies upon all long marches, the Towns, Burroughs, and Villages where they pass, are oblig'd to furnish them with Waggon for their Baggage and Train, and they do it the more willingly, because their march is so innocent, one would take it rather for a Religious Procession, than the motion of an Army, they never deviating from the High-way, and where there is a necessity of passing thorow the Corn, they make the loss good to the Proprietor immediately. The name of a Plunderer is so horrid amongst them, it is known only by hearsay. They are very well accommodated where-ever they come,

and they behave themselves to their Land'ords as to their particular friends.

CHAP. XVII.

Of their Light Horse.

THeir Light Horse at present consist of *Sclavonians, Dalmatians, or Morlaicks*, and are divided by Companies, not by Regiments, as in other parts of *Europe*; all of them are Subjects of this Commonwealth, as well as their Officers. They are all very stout, but not so well disciplin'd, never keeping any ranks upon a charge, but falling on pell mell, after the manner of the *Croats*. True it is, they rally with great dex-

dexterity, but in the heat of the charge they consider nothing but their passion, and advance or retreat according to their own humour and fancy.

So many heads of the *Turks* as they bring home, so many *Sequins* are punctually pay'd them, and being naturally very covetous, they expose themselves desperately to catch them. They are a people will endure much hardship, and their Horses (though small) will endure as much as their Masters. The most usual way of their fighting, is by making inroads upon the Enemy, and infesting those Countreys which lye nearest their borders. The Prisoners they take, belonging to the Republick, and the Souldier having no propriety in them, is the occasion they give no quarter, and the War is so inhumane.

Our Dragoons have borrow'd the fashion of their Caps from these *Capelets*, their ordinary arms are Carabines, and broad Swords, some of them have Pistols, but the generality two or three *Contelasses*, one fasten'd under each of their thighs, and another by their sides. They never were acquainted with the use of Boots, and that which supplyes them is a sort of Trowles, button'd up close to their legs, which serves them with less inconvenience.

It is a policy of no little importance to the *Venetian*, to set this price upon the heads of the *Turks*: two considerable advantages accrew to them by it; by the hopes of a pittifull gain these Nations are excited to a continual pursuit of the Enemy, and by giving no quarter to them, brought to a condition of expecting none themselves, by which

which means all the commerce that might be apprehended from such neighbouring Nations, is prevented or broken. Nor is the other inferiour, this manner of proceeding rendring them desperate and formidable where-ever they come. This kind of War may seem barbarous at first, but if the difference in Religion be consider'd, that 'tis Empire they fight for, and that nothing is expected on either side but utter destruction, no wonder if their measures be so rigid and pernicious.

Not long since they made use of forreign Horse in *Dalmatia* and *Candia*, but to speak truth, besides the excessive expence in which they involv'd themselves thereby, they receiv'd but little effects, for the Countreys being barren and mountainous, and by consequence unfit to sustain them,

many of them perish'd betwixt the legs of their Horses, by the quality of a Climate to which they had never been accusom'd. The inconvenience of furnishing them both with Straw and Hay for their Horses by Sea, made the *Venetian* weary of so unprofitable a Squadron, especially when they found the advantages they receiv'd by their *Capelets*, more considerable than all the great noise of their *Cavalry*; for knowing the Countrey, being brought up, and accusom'd to the Mountains, and acquainted with all the turnings and by-ways that belong to them, they are upon the backs of the Enemy, before the old Cavalry could be got to their Colours.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of their Infantry.

THe principal strength of the *Venetian* Army consists in their Foot, and the reason that makes them of greater esteem, is the same that makes them entertain so few Horse. The Infantry have their *Mestres de Camp*, and distinguish'd Regimentally, as they are among us: it is made up of all Nations indifferently, but divided into two bodies, *Italian*, and Strangers, which is principally contrived, when they have a person of more than ordinary merit which they would Create General. Their arms are Musket and Pike,

and each Regiment beats its March according to its own Countrey. These Forces are for the most part *French*, and *Swisses*; and 'tis not a little remarkeable, that notwithstanding the fierceness and almost intemperate zeal which the *Spaniard* professes for the Catholick Religion, there has not been one of them seen in the late Wars, which has assisted this Commonwealth against the *Turks*, or ventur'd the least drop of their blood in the defence of Christianity.

Under pretence of making new Levies continually, they keep most of their Colonels upon the *Terra-firma*: I could not readily apprehend the reason of it, but at length (recollecting how jealous they were) me thought it was to take away or prevent the Regiments having such Officers as they fancied themselves, and on the other side

to keep them in their hands, (as it were so many hostages) that they might not be able to act any thing contrary to Orders. It may be also they were unwilling to disgust their Camp-Masters, by drawing out too many of their men, and give them occasion to complain, that of their whole Regiment, they have not sometimes above thirty left.

Generally all their Souldiers are in Garrison, either in *Candia*, or *Dalmatia*, and they have no other Forces constantly in pay, besides their Army at Sea, which is re-enforc'd out of the said Garrisons as they have occasion. The Commands amongst their Foot are most commonly sold, and yet they do not forbear rewarding any person who has serv'd them faithfully and long. Their pay is exact, and if they make them attend sometimes
by

by accident, they have it faithfully at last. Besides a proportion of bread, and eight pence a day, they have a sufficient quantity of wine allowed to each man: but that which qualifies all, is, when-ever they are Listed, (unless they have very good fortune indeed, or more subtilty than ordinary) they may bid *adieu* to the liberty of ever seeing their own Countrey again.

In this particular I cannot approve their Politicks, for without doubt if they would give their Souldiers more liberty, though at first more of them might run away, than do at present, nevertheless it would extinguish the ill report they have all over *Europe*, of keeping their Souldiers in chains, and their good and punctual pay would invite them more strongly, than their freedom would encourage them to escape. Nay, not-
with-

withstanding their vigilance and severity, they lose good quantities of them sometimes, who choose rather to turn Renegadoes, and throw themselves into the arms of the *Turks*, than to see themselves under such violence and restraint, by the loss of their liberty, which perhaps (had the way been open) they would never have thought on: so ungovernable and ill-natured are the passions of Mankind, they desire nothing with that vehement impatience so much, as what is most strictly forbidden.

Lio is a place not far from *Venice*, where they put their Souldiers on Ship-board as soon as they arrive, and where they first begin to be sensible of their bondage. They put them all together in a large room, the windows fortified without with great bars of Iron, and the Sea encompassing them quite, gives

gives them the first prospect of their imprisonment, and makes them (by its impossibility) not only apprehensive, but desperate of their liberty. If any mans relation or curiosity carries him to see them, he looks upon them (as they do upon the wilde beasts at *Vincennes*) thorow an iron Grate, and instead of finding them jocund and merry, he meets with nothing but sadness upon their faces, and lamentation upon their tongues. Nevertheless the receipt of some small advance-money, and the consideration of their Commons, (which is probably better than they have at home) renders these poor Creatures insensible of what they would otherwise abhor.

The service of this Commonwealth being under such a scandal, they are many times necessitated to put their invention upon the rack,
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for wayes of supplying themselves when they want any men. They buy them very dear of their Colonels, who (if it be no Solecism) are no better than Horse-courers of men. The Princes their neighbours furnish them also at their own rates, but they are faine to wheedle them in, and to perswade them they are to lye perpetually in Garrison, and never to be expos'd to the hardships of the Field. Among the rest, the Dukes of *Parma* and *Modena* drive the principal Trade: they embark them upon the *Po*, in their great close Boats they call *Bourchij*, clap good strong Guards upon them at both ends of the Vessel, and in this posture without any arms they are conducted to *Lio*, (as so many Criminals) to be distributed into Companies when they come there.

They never put any of their
Soul-

Souldiers to death, because they will not willingly lose one man they may have occasion to use: if they commit any crime considerable, they are condemn'd to the Gallies, and if their offences are smaller, their punishments are proportioned. Their *Capelet Infantry* is the only Foot they trust with the keeping of such Towns as are on the Coast of *Italy*, and if there be any Strangers to be seen there, it is only in such Towers as lye conveniently for their transportation to *Lio*. They make use of their own Subjects but very seldom, for a Levie in their own Countrey is rarely to be seen, perhaps they are apprehensive that enuring them to the Wars, or accustoming them to Arms, may sometime or other contribute to their ruine, and if at any time they imploy their *Capelets*, (under pretence of a particular confidence

fidence in them) they are sure to send them far enough for doing any mischief.

To caress and cajole the *Morlaicks*, (which is a resolute and active Nation) they give them leave in the winter time to retire into the Plains, and to quarter themselves as near the Towns as they think convenient, pretending to secure them against the *Turks*, but the truth of their design is nothing but to have them under their power, and to re-enforce their Garrisons with them upon any sudden irruption. These *Morlaicks* live generally after the mode of the *Tartars*, having no fix'd residence or retreat, they are perpetually upon service, and have little other subsistence but what they gain by the Wars. When they change their quarters, they carry all along with them, their Family, Baggage,

gage, and Cattel, which they defend against the weather by little Huts or Cabbins which they set up immediately. Most of their Officers are Priests, which they obey very civilly, for people of their rudeness. They are very inconstant, and have often chang'd their sides, but the cruelty of a late *Bassa* of *Bosnia*, who brake his promises with them, has so exasperated them, as I am told, they are come over wholly to the *Venetian*, and given him no small corroboration: for though they are but as it were Voluntiers, they secure the Plains, open the passages of the Mountains, make continual incursions into their Countrey, and keep the Enemy in a perpetual alarm.

The *Capelets* (whom I have mentioned before) are more civilized than these, and not at all inferior in their courage. They have

have alwayes been very faithfull to this Republick, and are imploy'd by them very frequently as Guards to the Magistrates, in the same manner as the *Swisses* are in *France*. They are born and brought up in an implacable antipathy against the *Turks*, (which may be compar'd to that betwixt the *French* and the *Spaniard*) for they cannot forget they are descended from those excellent Souldiers, who under the Command of the incomparable *Scanderbeg*, perform'd so many noble exploits, routed so many of the *Ottoman* Armies, and fill'd the great *Amurath* both with indignation and despair.

There is little difference (unless in their Turban) betwixt their habit and the *Turks*, when they come to be of any considerable age they let their Beards grow: they are very curious in their hair, wear
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it very long behind, but cut it and trim it before. And yet notwithstanding the opinion the *Venetian* has of them, they are never allow'd to be in any considerable body, but distinguish'd into free Companies, and kept alwayes asunder, that by dividing the authority into several hands, (which would be united in one man, were it kept in a Regimental way) they might render them less dangerous.

CHAP. XIX.

*Of their general Rules and
Maximes in War.*

THEY never create any enemies to themselves, and when they cannot avoid them, they will never

never quarrel with above one at a time, choosing rather to accommodate with one, than to be driven to a division of their Army, when they are engaged in a War. They have a greater esteem for the *Tramontani*, or *Northern* Souldiers, than for the *Italian*, there being but very few of them either Officers or Regiments to be found among them, whereas they refuse not any price almost for the service of the other.

Besides the bravery and courage, which is much more eminent and conspicuous among the Septentrional Souldiers, than those of the warmer and more effeminate Climates, without doubt they have another reason of no less weight and authority, for these people being so remote from their own Countreys, and passing so many Mountains and Seas, cannot hope for any
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supplies from home, should they design any thing for themselves: whereas should they entertain any Forces from their neighbouring Princes, who knows what plots and conspiracies may be manag'd privately amongst a throng of Soldiers and Officers rais'd in their Territories, and how far they may prevail towards the subversion of the State.

In their extremities indeed they throw themselves sometimes into the arms of their allies, yet it is with such caution, they never suffer them to be either so numerous, or well armed, as to give them apprehension. A great supply to them is no less dreadfull than an Enemy, for when-ever they be considerable, they begin to be jealous and afraid of them. If they have receiv'd any numbers extraordinary of late years out of *France*, 'tis more to terrifie
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the *Ottoman* Officers with the name of the *French*, than any design they had to make use of them long, and this has been sufficiently demonstrated by the success.

Were they as well provided with men, as they are with all other necessaries for the War, it would be no great difficulty for them to over-power their enemies, for it is almost a prodigie to behold the vast Piles of Ammunition heap'd up in their Arsenal: in one single Gallery there are arms enough for thirty thousand men, by which pattern one may guess at the rest. They have three thousand men continually at work there, and they have such multitudes of Canon, they are forc'd to pile them up three rows high above one another, in a great large Hall they have builton purpose.

Their Frontier Towns are as
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well furnish'd as the Arsenal, and when they are in any apprehension of a siege, they take such excellent order, they have all things in the same plenty as in times of peace. Their greatest force being upon the Sea, and most of their Garrisons upon the Coasts, they put in what supplies they think good without interruption, and their Gallies re-enforce what places they please. At the siege of *Catara* they did the Enemy so much mischief with their Canon, that they secured the Town in spite of forty thousand men, and the *Bassa* of *Bosnia* at the head of them, and defended it, though they had made a considerable breach, and assaulted it with eight thousand *Fanzaries* and *Spahis*, which were the flower of their Army, our *Cuirassiers* throwing themselves into the Trenches, with their Pikes in their hands, and

and making them good during the whole Leaguer: if *Don Camilla Gonzague* had acted alone, or the General *Bernardo* had answer'd his experience, our success had been much better, and they had not advanc'd upon us as they did; but obedience must be given to the Commander in chief.

To engage and retain the foreign Officers to their service, besides their ordinary pay they give them certain Pensions, which they call *Conduct-money*, and proportion it according to the time of their service, which sometimes amounts to a considerable summe; a thing that works much with such as are devoted to their interest: yet for all these advancements, their Souldiers are not very true to them, they treating them with so much pride and inequality, that unless they will utterly renounce their own
K interest,

interest, and live as reclusely as in a Monastery, the Town is not secure where they are in Garrison. There are few persons of quality in their pay, which have not sufficient reason to complain of this usage, and amongst the rest, that honourable Commander *Monsieur Gremenville*, who was (as a man may say) born in their Armies, and would have died there before he would have forsaken them, had they not been so insufferably ingratefull. I can tell very well how much he suffer'd by his modesty, and though he was so tender of their honour as never to complain, I am sure he was not insensible of the injustice he receiv'd. 'Tis one of their Maximes, not to make too much of any man of extraordinary experience or esteem. *Gildas* was the man for their turn, their principal Caresses being for those who have

have qualifications sufficient to execute their Orders, but not to pry too far into the intrigues of their State.

Thus Sir have I presented you, with what a man of my small age and experience was able to collect, during my employment in forreign parts. Though the Style participates nothing of the Dialect of the Court, or the politeness of our Language, yet being written like a Souldier, I made no scruple to direct it to a Prince, who is resolv'd to be so whilst his age will permit him. For such errors as have pass'd either the Press, or my Pen, I humbly beg your excuse, as proceeding from a person more ambitious of doing, than speaking well, my greatest aim and most passionate design being nothing
but

but to dedicate my life to your
service, and that little experi-
ence I have been able to ac-
quire in the Wars of the Ve-
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